ORI
954·02
Bad/Emp
48834

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 30 January, 2020

00048834

THE EMPEROR AKBAR'S REPUDIATION OF ESLLÁM

AND

PROFESSION OF HIS OWN RELIGION, CALLED THE "TOVOHHYD ELAHY AKBAR SHAHY"

OR

"AKBAR SHAH'S DIVINE-MONOTHÉISM."

CONSISTING OF PASSAGES FROM THE MUNTAKHAB AL-TAWÁRIKH

OF ABD AL-QÁDIR BIN-I-MALÚK SHAH AL-BADÁONI.

TRANSLATED BY

4883

EDWARD REHATSEK.

BOMBAY:

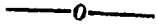
PRINTED AT THE UNION PRESS.

1866.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFACE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

CHAPTER	PAGE.
I	1
II	18
III	30
IV	44
V	57
VI	70
VII	80
VIII	87
IX	96



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Akbar was undoubtedly one of the greatest Mogul Emperors of India, not on account of his talents as a general, but as a politician and a legislator. During his long reign[1] he retained all the provinces—from Guzerat to Kashmir, and from Kabul to Bengal—which his father Humayoon had conquered by the sword, and a few insurrections of refractory vassals excepted, it may be said to have been one of uninterrupted peace. The code of laws most suitable to the age in which he lived, and for the nations whom he governed, was compiled by his orders and under his own eye. The religious toleration enjoyed by all denominations subject to his sway, was naturally looked upon with an evil eye by the governing race, and his predilection for the Hindus was by all true Moslems considered as the greatest blemish in his character, which no efforts of theirs were able to counteract, because he had been imbued with it from his early years, and on attaining the age of discretion it had taken such firm root, that it had already become a part of his nature. Therefore, the statements of a pious Musulman as our compiler was—whose *Muntakhab* is merely a selection from the *Ttabaqát Akbar Sháhy*—must be taken with a grain of salt. At

1 He was born A. D. 1542, began to reign in 1556 and died in 1605.

the time Al-Badàoni arrived at Court, the Emperor Akbar had been nearly a score of years already on the throne, and had allowed the Ulemmas by whom he had surrounded himself, to discuss all topics with the utmost freedom, in which occupation they made such progress, that five or six years after his arrival (p. 255) Al-Badáoni deplores the total extinction of Esllàm. He had entered the imperial service nearly at the same time with Abulfadzl, who soon outstripped him and became Vizier; the latter being moreover a fullblown infidel as well as an accomplished courtier, managed in a short time to engraft his mode of thinking on the Emperor, who although he soon began to ridicule the character of the prophet and many of the tenets of Esllám, did not venture to abolish the religion altogether because war and insurrections would have been the inevitable, consequence; and the danger to his life would have been imminent.

On the other hand, Akbar seems to have been vacillating for many years what religion to substitute for Esllám—which according to his opinion was destined not to survive the decease of its founder more than one thousand years—as he was probably aware that no nation either Theist or Polytheist exists which does not profess some kind of Faith connected with visible forms of worship. He had no doubt considered that outward signs would be captivating to the minds of untutored natures, and therefore he began to worship the sun as one of the greatest manifestations of the omnipotence of the Creator; he revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hegira, and also maintained sacred fires. As the number of Parsees was too small, these matters were not introduced from political motives; which may have had something to do with Akbar's forehead

mark, and arm-string, as pleasing to his Hindu subjects and checking the Moslems, both of whom he fancied that he might gradually lead to adopt usages of pre-Muhammadan times. But he did not prohibit the exercise of any kind of religion, and orders were issued that places of worship of any sort might be built, and that all persons were at full liberty to profess any religion they chose.

Such were the external evidences of the neglect of Esllám and of the introduction of the new form of religion, but what the internal ones were does not appear; and as in Free-Masonry so also here it seems that the lower degrees and orders were kept in ignorance of the tenets of the higher ones. The religion was called "Akbar Sháh's divine monotheism," and loyalty to the Emperor appears to have been the paramount duty of every professor, with reference to whom he occupied the same position as a Hindu Gurú occupies towards his disciples; and the prostration before him, called "earth kiss" was the first duty of every believer in the "order of loyalty" into which he was initiated and gradually promoted from the first to the fourth degree. The formula abjuring the Muhammadan faith and professing the "divine religion of the Emperor Akbar" in a written document with the signature of the neophyte attached to it, came into public use only after His Majesty had been about thirty years on the throne; very likely because the work of conversion with the extirpating, removing and intimidating of obstreperous Mollás and prelates was not accomplished till that time; and before it such a public step would have been fraught with the utmost peril to all concerned in it.

After a lapse of more than two centuries and a half since the decease of Akbar "the guardian of mankind," not a vestige of the Elahy religion survives, nor does any evidence

exist that its professors were persecuted, and it may be surmised that if such had been the case it would not have fallen into oblivion but would continue to subsist. The memory of the Emperor was honored by his son and successor, who issued orders that the respectful title *Ărsh-àshyàny*[2] be used on all occasions where his name was to be mentioned. Jehangir also retained in his confidence and service all the infidel functionaries of Akbar, whether Hindus or Musulmàns, and celebrated the anniversary of his accession to the throne, on the same day his father had done—namely on the day when the sun entered the first degree of Aries[3]—together with the festivities of the Nu-rúz, during his whole reign, which lasted more than twenty years. The custom of omitting allusions to the prophet in books, and the eulogies applied to him in the prefaces which afterwards again came into fashion and are kept up by Moslems, were during nearly all that time kept in abeyance; but the religion of Muhammad was again revived by degrees and that of Akbar fell into oblivion; his memory is however still cherished among all Hindus as that of a great monarch, wise legislator, and liberal prince.

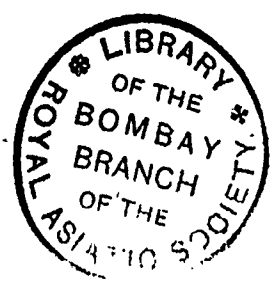
The passages here translated from the *Muntakhab Al-Towàrikh of Ăbd-ul-Kàdir Bin-i-Maluk Shah Al-Badàoni*—Bibl. Ind. Calc. 1864-5—have been selected to show how the Emperor was led step by step to his disregard for Esllám, which finally culminated in its repudiation, and the promulgation of the Dyn Elahy Akbar Shàhy i. e. divine religion of Akbar Shah. This little selection the translator has

2 The usual expression for "late, deceased" is *marhoom* i. e. received into the mercy of God. But the words *Ărsh-áshyány* may be translated: "whose nest is on the throne of God."

3 On the 21st. of March, in which manner the year was correctly fixed; whereas according to the Hegira era it fluctuates through all the seasons, and the Moslems are actually gaining one year in 33 solar years.

divided into nine chapters, giving at the beginning of each its table of contents and a reference to the pages of the original, so that persons curious in such matters may turn to it for purposes of comparison. In conclusion it may be remarked that the author wrote in a crabbed chancery-style—occasionally containing an Urdu word or two which is however no sufficient warrant to consider such compositions as being written in a special language, called "Indo-Persian," as is sometimes done—and that he gradually abandons the respectful title *Shahinshàhy* by which he designates Akbar in the beginning of the work, and speaks of him only in the third person plural, namely: "they said; they appointed; they celebrated the Nurúz &c," which locutions puzzle superficial readers not acquainted with the whole context, because they are at a loss to divine what persons are meant. This defect the translator has remedied by substituting the word Emperor, or His Majesty wherever the meaning was obscure, but he has taken no other liberties with the text.

EDWARD REHATSEK.


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Transcription Adopted.

ح خ=h, hh, kh.
ص=ss.
ض=dz.
ز=dh.
ط=tt.
ظ=tz.
ث=th.
ش=sh.
ق=q.
ع=ă.
غ=ğ

As all the other letters have perfect equivalents in English orthography, they are omitted in this list. The same is the case also with the vowels; and for the long ones accented letters have been used.

THE RELIGION OF AKBAR.

CHAPTER I.

Abulfadzl is received at Akbar's Court and remains.—The Mollahs insulted.—A house of prayer is built.—Discussions on all subjects are held —The Emperor's liberality.—Mukhdum-ulmalik's reasons against going on pilgrimage to Makkah.—Priests required to get their appointments ratified.— The Prime-minister bestows favors on worthless persons.—Matrimonial problems.—On the words : Allah Akbar on coins.—Byrber, Abulfadzl and others openly profess infidelity.—An orthodox prelate is neglected.—A Brahman professes Eslam.—Attempts to translate the Atharva Veda.

(p. 198-213)

About this time Sheykh Abulfadzl, the son of Sheykh Mobáruk Nágûry surnamed Ullámy,—a turbulent fellow who had lit the light of the Soobáhyans[1], according to their doctrine of taking a lamp in plain daylight, and who had on the maxim: "Who opposes, disposes" made it his duty to attack all religions—drew the girdle of self-righteousness tightly around his waist, made his appearance at Court, obtained a second audience,[2] and his commentary on the verse of the *throne*[3] which contained discussions of many subtle Qoranic points—but was said to have been composed by his father—met with the honor of approbation. Its date was fixed by the words *Akbarûn commentary*[4],

1 Founder of a sect of illuminati.

2 The first had taken place nearly two years before.

3 Qoran, ch. II. Sale's translation p. 31. Ed. 1850. "His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto him &c."

4 The sum of the numerical value of the letters *tfsyr akbry* gives A. H. 983. A. D. 1575.

it was praised, contrary to my expectations, in order to administer a wigging to the obstreperous Mollahs, the origin of the Emperor's antipathy against whom was as follows :— On the occasion namely when Sheykh Ăbd-ulnaby, Mákhdúm-ulmalik, and all the Ullemmas had unanimously made a representation that dissenters, such as Myr Hhabshy and others, should be imprisoned and killed, they stated that Sheykh Mobáruk Mahduvy was likewise a prevaricating innovator. He had departed to Gúnah, and the Emperor had sent officers in pursuit of him, but as the Sheykh with his sons had absconded, the pulpit of his mosque was broken to pieces. He requested Sheykh Selym Chusty Fatahhpoory, who enjoyed at that time the highest favor, to intercede, but the latter despatched some of his disciples to him with a little money and the message : "In your circumstances it will be best to flee from this country and to betake yourself to Gujarat." Being disappointed in this quarter, he applied to Myrza Ăzyz Kaukah who mentioned his learning and poverty as well as the virtues of his sons to the Emperor and said : "He is a pious man and holds no grant of land from you. Why should the poor fellow be distressed?" Accordingly the persecution was given up, and after a short while the affair fell into oblivion. Meanwhile, Abulfadzl succeeded under the cloak of the Emperor's protection, by attentiveness, by time-serving, by dishonesty, by his knowledge of human nature, and by flattery, in completely putting to shame the Mollahs who bore him ill will ; and he became not only the cause of the obliteration of the old acts, but the ruin of all the servants of God among the clergy and laity, the pious, the destitute, and the orphans, whose resources and means of living were cut off, so that he often uttered in the language of the circumstances the following verses :—

O Lord send a guide to the sons of men.
Send them an elephant, as to Nimrud gnats[5]
They are seditious like Pharao
Send them Moses, his staff, and the river Nile.

When after this, confusions and quarrels arose, he added the following quartrain:—

With my own two hands I have put fire
To my granary; I did it, why complain,
Why against enemies vent my ire
Woe and alas! My plaints are vain.

And if in the disputations any one quoted the opinions of divines, he used to reply, "What! Are you adducing against me the arguments of such and such a confectioner, cobbler or tanner?" Whereby he incurred the reprobation of all the Ulemmas and priests.

In the year nine hundred and eighty three, the buildings of the prayer-house were completed; the origin and construction of which was, that as during several years great and wonderful conquests had been made whereby the extent of the empire became more enlarged day by day; and as affairs prospered so well that no opponents remained anywhere, and many strangers and destitute persons had gathered around the threshold of His Majesty the Emperor (may God sanctify his spirit) so that most of his time was spent in discussing the tenets of the Qoran and the sayings of the prophet, as well as in questions concerning Sophi-doctrines and scientific queries, with philosophical and theological and other conversations in which His Majesty was so immersed that he mostly passed his nights in prayer to God—(whose name he glorified and exalted); by whose favor he has been so greatly benefited—sitting on a stone in an apartment of a

5 According to tradition the army of Nimrud was miraculously put to flight by gnats.

deserted portion of the out-buildings of the palace till the morning dawned; and as he had heard that Sulymán Karrány the governor of Bengal was in the company of one hundred and fifty priests and Ullemmas of note, in the habit of keeping vigils praying and reading sacred books till morning, without any infringement of the dúties of the next day in dispensing justice and administering civil and military affairs, and as news had likewise been brought of the coming of Myrza Soleymán of Badakhsán who was as a king professing Sophi-doctrines and taking disciples; and for several other reasons the Emperor gave that apartment to Sheikh Ăbdullah Nyázy Sahrandy—who had formerly adhered to the chief doctor Chusty, but at last became a follower of Mahduvy as has been noticed—and built on every one of its four sides a spacious hall; and the tank called Anub Tallao was also completed. That apartment was named the house of prayer, but it gradually became a house of visits, on which Molla Shyry has written a Qaṣsidah, and a distich of it is here given :

> In those days I saw riches like those of Qaroon
> Prayers like those of Pharao, and buildings like those of Sheddád[6].

After holding prayers every Friday in the new oratory, the Sheyk-ulisllàm[7] held a conversazione in it, to which the Emperor invited none but the divines of the time, Ulemmas, scholars, distinguished men, with some of his courtiers and chief favorites, where all sorts of instructive discussions were carried on, until one day Jallál Khán Qurchy, one of my old and intimate friends, happened to speak in the midst of a

6 Sheddád was a king who made a garden to imitate paradise, and Qaroon was immensely rich. Both these persons are several time mentioned in the Qoran.

7 Chief doctor and judge.

discussion as follows:—"I went to see Sheykh Dzyá-ullah the son of Sheykh Muhammad Gouth in Agra, but their people had fallen into such abject poverty that one day they asked during a visit for a few Seers[8] of pulse, a portion of which they eat; one they gave to me, and another they sent to their family." When the Emperor heard this news he became greatly affected, sent for Sheykh Dzyá-ullah and assigned to him a place in the house of prayer. Every night he invited numbers of grandees, divines, Ullemmas, and Amyrs, and as contentions arose among them about their position and precedence, he ordered the Amyrs to take their places to the east, the grandees to the west, the Ullemas to the south, and the divines to the north. He came himself from time to time and took part in the disputations of the assembly bringing various perfumes, and presenting worthy persons who had obtained access to the place by means of the courtiers, with countless sums of money. He also distributed many exquisite books which had formerly belonged to Ắátmád Khan Guzráti and had after the conquest of that country become the property of the imperial treasury, with his own hand to Ullemmas and to scholars. Among the numbers of books presented to me one was the *Anvár Almishkát* which contains one chapter more than the *Mishkát-allanvár*, and whatever remained he gave to the Amyrs for the sake of making friends, which he surnamed "Armas" meaning "Destruction of the enemy"[9], until one night the Ullemmas of the time became quite bold and made a great noise, so that His Majesty got angry and said to me: "If after this you hear any one speaking nonsense, inform me that I may send him away." But I turned to

8 A wellknown measure of grain &c.

9 A saying which may possibly have been witty at the time it was uttered.

Assaf Khan and said in a low voice: "If this be the case it will be necessary to expel the majority;" and on asking what I had said he was informed of it; but was so pleased that he turned to the courtiers and repeated my words.

Makhdûm-ulmalik had invited Mollana Abdullah Sultanpúry to this assembly for the purpose of insulting him, and Hhájy Ebráhym with Sheykh Abulfadzl—who had just arrived, and is at present not only engaged in founding a new religion, but considers himself to be the only possessor of the truth, and has broached other novelties—engaged in disputation with him and interrupted him at every word; meanwhile, some courtiers also took the cue according to the hint they had received, began to sputter and to cackle, trying to elicit curious information from Makhdúm-ulmalik, so that the blessed verse: "and some of you will be reduced to the most worthless life," became applicable to him.

On that night Khanjehán mentioned Makhdúm-ulmalik's pronouncing a decree that in these times it is not incumbent to go on pilgrimage to Makkah[10] and that any one going on it incurs guilt; and the latter, being asked for an explanation, replied, that in our times the pilgrimage is not a religious duty but depends on circumstances; and when further pressed for his reasons, he stated that the route to Makkah passes through Èráq and through Gujarat; that on the land dangers are imminent from the *Quzlbashís*[11] and by way of the sea it is necessary to submit to the protection of Franks and to get a passport from them, wherein the picture of Mary and of Jesus (upon whom be peace) is

---

10 The statement which follows occurs in the Dabestan, and agrees nearly in every word with it. p. 426 Calcutta, A. D. 1809.

11 Literally: *Red heads*, but here intended to designate predatory tribes, Turkish, Persian or Arab. At present a turbulent tribe of *Quzlbashs* governed by chiefs is in the territories of Kabul and Kandahár.

delineated, which is a species of idolatry; accordingly in both cases the pilgrimage is prohibited. Another reason for his aversion to the pilgrimage was the loss of the Zekát[12]), which he would have incurred, and which he was accustomed to exact before the expiration of the year—giving all his money to his wife.—This, connected with frauds that would put to the blush the cunning of the sons of Moses, as well as his iniquity, tyranny, worldliness and the oppression practised by him over the priests and Faqirs of the country, but especially over meritorious individuals of the Punjab, were according to the saying, "The secret of one day reveals many others to the world," brought to light one by one, so that many stories vilifying and disparaging his character became current, and the conclusion was general that he ought to be sent to Makkah the great, by main force, but when he was asked whether the pilgrimage as a religious duty was incumbent on himself, he gave a negative reply.

At that time Sheykh Ăbdulnaby was in the height of his glory, and Makhdúm-almalik was in the beginning of his decline. From respect and veneration, the Emperor occasionally paid visits to the Sheykh for the purpose of listening to the science of Hhadith[13]; and once or twice even left his shoes before the door; he also placed the eldest prince under his tuition until he was able to recite forty Hhadith's of Maulavy Makhdúmy Maullaná Ăbd-urrahman Jámy (May God sanctify his blessed memory). But one subject of ridicule is, that in spite of his boast of being a Mubaddath, a Háfetz and an Emám[14] he read in the first mentioned noble science the Hhadith: *Alhazmon sau ultzan*

12 Legal alms, not to be confounded with Ssadaqát which are voluntary.
13 Tradition.
14 A knower of tradition, memorizer of the Qoran, and a leading priest.

[precaution is a suspicion] which every boy has learnt to utter with an undotted *hhâ* and with a dotted *zâ*, with a dotted *hhâ* and an undotted *zâ*[15], and persisted for years in his obstinacy, until he fell into disgrace and the Mollahs of the faction of Mirza Ăzyz Kaukah represented to the Emperor that this was the amount of the knowledge of Hhadith of which he boasted, and that His Majesty had raised him to such a rank; in this case however the humiliation was cómmensurate with the deserts. Let us take refuge with God from reverses after affluence.

About this time the Emperor ordered the book *Hhayât-ulhhayvân*[16], which Nassyb Khân was mostly reading to and discussing with him, to be translated by Sheykh Abulfadzl but Sheykh Mobárak turned it into Persian. In this year orders were issued through the whole empire that the inspectors were to withold the payment of the salaries, bequests and dues from all Emâms until their appointments were ratified by the Ssadr[17]). Accordingly numbers of meritorious individuals arrived from the easternmost regions of India as well as from the country of Bakar [which was the most western], and every one who was able to find a patron among the courtiers and Amyrs got him to plead his cause, and those who were not so lucky, applied to Sayyid Abdurrasúl; and all the Vakyls of the Sheykh, and even the carpet-spreaders, door-keepers, jockeys, and sweepers were bribed by them, in which manner they succeeded in their attempts. Had it not been for these two stratagems they would have been crushed in the throng under the shelter of a wooden structure and many other unfortunate Emâms thus lost their lives from the heat which prevailed in that great crowd.

15 Which makes the first word *Alkharmon*: "bursting, piercing, depriving."

16 Animal-life.

17 Premier.

When this information was conveyed to the Emperor, his regard for the Ssadr hindered him from giving vent to his displeasure. Every time this Premier sat in state and high Amyrs introduced men of science and piety to the audience-hall by way of protecting them, he showed his contempt by paying the greatest attention to the more insignificant persons, and granted to a Doctor of the Hedayah[18]) and of other books, at last his request for about one hundred Bighas of land, but deprived him of the rest which he had been enjoying for many years. As to ignorant and mean plebeians and even to Hindus; he presented them with new lands voluntarily and in detail, so that the dignity of science and of scientific men decreased day by day; and his haughtiness was such that when he was in the midst of the audience hall sitting till after-noon on the chair of arrogance and performing his religious ablution, he was not at all ashamed to see the water used by him, falling on the heads, countenances, and robes of great Amyrs and high courtiers, who suffered this behaviour for the sake of their destitute protegees, and demeaned themselves to cajole and to flatter him according to his heart's content, but when the opportune time arrived, they had their revenge:

If a boor is made Kadzy
He makes laws that kill him.

Nor did any prime minister during any reign enjoy such unlimited power.

At that time I was made Emàm and ordered to take charge of the horses of the imperial household, and having received a great sum of money I had first of all to provide

18 A well-known code of laws, translated also into English by Charles Hamilton London 1791 under the little "Hidayah or Guide, a commentary on the Mussulman Law." Also Printed in the original Arabic at Calcutta in 4vols. A D. 1830-37.

for them according to the grade of a score-man[19] to which I had been promoted. Sheykh Abulfadzl who had likewise arrived in the vicinity, and—as Shabály said with reference to Jamyd (may God sanctify the spirits of them both) "we had both come out of the same furnace"—he began, in the exuberance of his shrewdness, and anxiety to accommodate himself to his duties, immediately with the dág and mahala[20] and advanced in the service till he was promoted to the grade of two thousand[21] and the dignity of Vizier; whilst I in my inexperience and simplicity was scarcely able to do my duty, and the following distich made by one of the poets with reference to his own circumstances, occurred to my mind:—

An internal, and a twentyer I am made
May my mother not see me in this nasty state.

My intention had been to remain contented with any little salary I might receive, and to occupy myself in retirement with science, free from all disappointments.

Ask not for the glory of the world, it is a sham
Suffice the glory of religion, and of Esllám.

I was however disappointed in my expectations, and in the month Showál of the year nine hundred and eighty three [A. D. 1575] the discharge I had applied for was refused to me as well as the horse-allowance, but I obtained a grant of land amounting to one thousand Bigahs according to my grade of a score-man on account of the non-compliance of the Ssadr and the unpropitiousness of the times. Also rations were mentioned in my Commission, and though I suggested that with the land assigned to me I could not be perma-

19 The word is *Bysty* meaning twentyer.
20 Quartering horses and troops on landed proprietors or Jagirdars.
21 Two-thousander, in the original *du hezáry*.

nently in the service, I was told that when attached to the army I would likewise receive pay and gifts. Sheykh Abdulnaby said, "Persons like you have never received from us such considerable appointments :" these promises however remained unfulfilled and were nothing but a mirage, because since they were made twenty two years have elapsed, and I expect to be delivered for my unrequited services by the favor of a bountiful providence.

The first question discussed at this time was: how many wives it is proper to marry, and the reply was that more than four could not be united to one man; but the Emperor said: "When I was in the vigor of youth I collected as many free and bond women as I liked because I was not aware of this matter, but how can it be remedied now?" And every one said something. His Majesty continued: "I have one day heard Sheykh Abdulnaby stating that a Majtuhad[22] had married as many as nine wives," and the Doctors replied: "Yes, Aby-Layly the Majtuhad has done so, and others have on the strength of the words of God the Most High: 'take in marriage of such *other* women as please you, two, or three or four[23] considered it licit to marry as many as eighteen wives; these traditions however are all suspended and must not be imitated. When this query was sent to Abdulnaby he despatched the following answer; "I have only explained a case but not given a Fetwa[24] to make it licit," with which the Emperor was so displeased that it rankled in his heart, and after a great deal of controversy and consulting various traditions a Fetwa was issued that by way

22 A man well acquainted with tradition and its interpretation, who has a good knowledge of the science of origins, as well as of the abrogators and abrogated parts of traditions, of the Qoran and of the Sonna is a *Majtuhad.*

23 Qoran ch. II. Sale, p. 59.

24 Judicial decree.

of Mutăt[25] any individual could marry as many wives as he likes. This is licit in the sect of the Emám Málek Rahmatullah; and contrary to the Sunnis but the Shiahs love their children begotten in Mutăt, more than the others. On this subject a long discussion took place a compendium of which is recorded in the *Najat-urrashyd*.[26]

One night the Kádzy Yăqùb, Sheykh Abulfadzl Ilhájy Ebrahym and a few other Ullemmas were assembled at the Anùb-Tallão-apartment in attendance on the Emperor. Sheykh Abulfadzl was engaged in controversy with the doctors and had brought the traditions collected by his honored father. On that occasion I was also called in and asked for my opinion. I replied: "The gist of so many traditions and different sects may be comprised in a few words, namely: That the Mutăt is by the Emám Málek Rahmatullah and by the Shyas unanimously considered licit, but by the Emám Shâfăy and by the Emám Aătzim (the mercy of God be on them both) illicit; except when it is approved of by a Kádzy of the Málekite sect, it becomes licit also in the sect of Emám Aătzim; whatever is stated more than this, is mere hearsay and controversy." This explanation was greatly praised, and Kádzy Yăqub also said a few words on the subject which I shall insert in this place. He asked: "I recollect that a matter in which there is a difference of opinion, is referred to the assembly of all the Kadzys. What have you to say? And what about reading with reference to this question the Fatehhah[27] after the Emam whose testimony is

25 Temporary marriage.—Quando aliquis uxorem ducit et post paucorum dierum consuetudinem dimittit.

26 Salvation of a well-guided man.

27 This is the beginning of the Qoran and recited at the beginning of all solemn transactions. In the above case many would consider it improper to recite it with an Emam of a different sect, and still more so *after* him.

sought?" I adduced many other arguments and related the circumstance of Sheykh Buhá-uddyn Zakryá Multány's going to Bagdad in order to wait on Shahâb-uddyn Saharvurdy the Sheykh of Sheykhs (May God sanctify the spirit of them both) and his reading the Fatchhah according to the Shâfây sect after that great doctor; as well as the blame cast on them by the Ullemmas adhering to routine; I also narrated in detail how the Kâdzys of Delhi not only admitted the traditions but approved of the act [of temporary marriages] and how it was considered reasonable. Kâdzy Yăqûb feebly ejaculated: "Then what shall I say, welcome, it [the Mutăt] is licit."

Hereon the Emperor said "In this question I appoint Hosseyn Arab the Malekite to be Kâdzy, and from this day Qâdzy Yăqub is superseded!" Accordingly he made Qâdzy Hosseyn to be his Vokyl, who also issued licences according to his sect and allowed the Mutăt.

This event greatly astonished the big-wigs down from the Ssadr to Makhdûm-ulmalik and the Qâdzy and all the others, and it became the commencement of their autumn and rainy season. A few days after this affair the Emperor sent for Mullâná Jallâl-uddyn Multány from Agra who was a great divine but had no means; appointed him Qâdzy over the whole empire, and despatched Qâdzy Yâqub to Gaur, over which Ssubah[28] he was installed as judge. From that day the road to contention and disputation, was again opened until the time for religious controversy arrived which is carried on briskly; and they have arrived at whatever God the Most High permitteth!

At that time His Majesty also ordered Ăbdulnaby and Makhdûm-ulmalik to make arrangements for imposing the

28 One of the great districts into which the empire was divided.

capitation-tax on the Hindus, and issued Fermáns in all directions to that effect, but those orders were soon abolished like ripples on the water. On that occasion the Emperor also consulted us about having the words *Allah Akbar* [God is greatest!] on medals and on the coin of the realm,[29] and all approved of the idea, except Hhájy Ebráhym who replied: "As this phrase admits also of another interpretation [Akbar is God] it would be better to have the verse "*Wa lidhakru-illahi-akbaru*[30]" stamped on them, as it would make an end about any doubt which might arise about the signification." But the Emperor was not pleased and replied: "It is self-evident that no man can in his perfect weakness pretend to be God. Our intention is based on the literal meaning, and there is no occasion to transfer it [to my name]."

Before the investigation of the tenet about the Mutăt Sayyid Muhammad Myr Ădil for whom the Emperor had great regard, was this year appointed to Bakr, and presented with a sword as well as with a fully equipped horse; but a short time after he had arrived at his place of destination, he departed to the next world (may God have mercy on him.). He was moreover a man the like of whom has not again been seen among us to this day; just as if he had been a requisite of those times [only]. It is said that one day Hhâji Ebráhym Sirhindy issued a Fetwa permitting to wear red and saffron colored apparel, and cited traditions in support of it, but Myr Ădil called him in the Emperor's presence an accursed wretch, and lifted up a stick to strike him but he escaped.

29 It may here be remarked that the *Uzak* which was a gold-medal adorned with costly jewels and suspended from the neck, is also included. It was given as decorations of this kind are in Europe.

30 And the remembrance of God is greater.

In this year also Hakym Abulfatahh Gayllány and Hhakym Humáyùn—whose name had formerly been Humáyùm Qolly and afterwards Hhákym Ttemám,—and Nuruddyn whose Takhallass[31]) was Qaráry, all three of them brothers, arrived at Court: and the eldest had by insinuating himself as a favorite, obtained a wonderful hold on the Emperor's mind by his flattery; and being allowed to utter any opinions on religious subjects according to his pleasure, he advanced more and more till he became extremely intimate with His Majesty. Some time afterwards Mollah Muhammad Yazdy, who was called Yazydy, arrived from the country, and having joined them, lavished unlimited blame on the companions of the prophet (the blessing of God be upon them), recounted curious stories, and wished to draw the Emperor over to the Shyahs; when all of a sudden Byrber the bastard[32], Sheykh Abulfadzl and Hakym Abulfatahh went one step further, and turned [him?] altogether away from the religion, by entirely denying inspiration, prophecy, miracles, and the laws of the religion, and thus transgressed all bounds. I could not join their company but I shall record the affairs of each of them, if it pleaseth God the Most High.

On this occasion the Emperor ordered Qádzy Jellál and other Ulemmas to give a commentary of the glorious Qoran, but they fell foul of each other; and Dipchund the buffoon of Rajah Manjhulah said: "Had the cow not been held in great estimation by the Almighty, why would it have been mentioned in the first Surah of the Qorán?" Whilst history was being read, the belief in the companions

31 Name which a poet assumes.

32 This was a Hindu who enjoyed the favor of Akbar in a high degree, but incurred the displeasure of our author who bestows the above undeserved epithet on him.

[of the prophet] became deteriorated day by day; and they went still further by asserting that prayers, fasting, and all prophesies were [only] traditions; namely not based on reason. Thus they established the latter, and not the sacred records to be the foundation of religion; they also countenanced the coming and going of Europeans and adopted several of their theories.

Whatever fancy their mind is bent at
Their intellect is only laughed at.

During this year Sheykh-Bedr-uddyn—the son of Sheykh Esllám Chusty—who possessed a diocese[33] and had taken the place of his father, retired from the world and passed his time in solitude, prayer, reading the Qorán, and in meditation. One night he was invited to the prayer-house, but as he did not observe the etiquette that had become current before this [his arrival], he committed many blunders of behaviour as well as of speech and impertinence, which he followed up with other pretensions also. Therefore he was neglected and having three or four years uselessly waited, to be noticed, he departed in despair and disappointment to Ajmyr, whence he travelled to Gujarat, embarked in a ship, and went on pilgrimage to Makkah, where he mostly spent his time in fasting, and circumambulating the Kăbah barefooted in hot weather, until he attained the felicity of departing to the Kăbah of conjunction, and proximity to the Most High. O God! cause me to obtain that felicity,

Perfection! From the Kăbah to the FRIEND's door you have gone
A thousand approbations! Well you have done.

---

33 The words are: *Ssáheb sujádah*, literally: lord of a Prayer-carpet the latter however is in this case nearly equivalent to our diocese.

In this year Sheykh Bhavun who was a learned Brahman arrived at Court from the Dekhan, and having willingly and joyfully made a profession of Esllám was received among the select company. He was ordered to explain, and I to translate from the Hindi into the Persian language the Byd Atharban [Atharva Veda] which is the last of the four celebrated books of the Hindus, and some of the tenets of which agree with those of the religion of Esllám. But as some of its metaphors were extremely obscure, and the interpreter failed to clear them up, the meaning remained unintelligible, and I made my report accordingly. After that Hhây [Hhájy?] Ebráhym Sirhindy was ordered to translate it but he likewise could give no satisfaction, and therefore the book was laid aside. Some of its contents are as follows:—Unless people read a certain statement containing many repetitions of the letter *Llám* and resembling the iteration of the blessed Kalimaton[34]: *Llá àlah illallah*, they cannot obtain salvation. Further, that on certain conditions it is permitted to eat the flesh of the cow, also that corpses ought to be buried and not to be burned. The said Sheykh overcame and confounded the Brahmans of India in controversy, and was thus led to make a profession of the true Faith, for which praise is to be given to God!

34 The word *par excellence*, or confession of Faith; "There is no God but God; Muhammad is the prophet of God."

CHAPTER II.

Religious discussions in the house of prayer.—Eslläm despised.—Causes of the extinction of Eslläm.—Assembly of literati from various countries, and professing different religions and their disputes.—Why Akbar esteemed all religions alike.—Doings of Samanyahs and Brahmans.—Akbar's belief in the transmigration of souls.—Sheykh Tájuddyn entertains him with the doctrines of the Ssofys.—Allows himself to be worshipped, and the act called the "Earth-kiss."—Sheykh-Yăqub gives a simile.—Muhammad Yazdy maligns the companions of the Prophet.—Akbar denies the authority of ancient and modern divines.—European priests bring the gospel.—They compare Muhammad to Antichrist.—Sun-worship proposed by Byrber.—Prohibition to slaughter cows.—Zoroastrians from Nosary induce Akbar to keep sacred fire.—Akbar publicly worships the sun, and fire. Homa.—Forehead mark of the Emperor.—His hatred of Eslläm.—The author's conversation with Abulfadzl. Abulfazll is victorious in disputing with the courtiers.—The author's lamentation.

(p. 263-264)

In the beginning of the sacred month Moharram in the year nine hundred and eighty-six [A. D. 1578] the Jallály[1] new year's day again arrived, which was the twentyfourth anniversary of the Emperor's reign.

His Majesty spent most of his time in the company of Ulemmas and Doctors, in the house of prayer, but especially the nights preceding Fridays, during the whole of which he remained awake, whilst the company were discussing the fundamental and secondary principles as well as the differences of various religions, and accused each other of infidelity and heresy; their discussions progressed, and after reviewing the doctrines of the Sunnis, Shyăhs, Hanfis,

1 *Jallál-uddyn* "glory of the religion" was one of the names of Akbar; and the era biginning with his reign was therefore called *Jallály* and afterwards he called it *Elahy* or divine, and abolished that of the Hegira as far as he was able; but after his death the former was neglected and the latter again used.

Shâfâys, of divines and philosophers, they attacked the very essence of religion. Mukhdûm-almalik wrote a pamphlet that Sheykh Âbd-unnaby had unjustly exposed Khadzar Khân Sarvâny who was suspected of having maligned the prophet (to whom salutation), and Myr Hhabash who was considered a heretic, and that it is not licit to say prayers under his officiation because he had open hemorrhoides which he inherited from his father. But Sheykh-Âbd-unnaby in his turn accused his opponent of ignorance and error, so that the Mollahs were divided into two factions,[2] siding with the former or the latter divine; innovators and enthusiasts came forth from their ambuscades in consequence of these recriminations and futilities, clothed falsehood in the garments of truth, and adorned errors with the semblance of rectitude, and perplexed the mind of His imperial Majesty—whose nature was exquisite, but who possessed no learning and was obstinately keeping company with infidels and low fellows—more and more, so that the object [of the disputation to arrive at the truth] was lost, the firm rampart of the evident law, and solid religion was broken, and after five or six years not a vestige of Esllâm remained; and affairs took a turn contrary to all expectation.

My opinion and your's are contrary
What I an error deem, you buy.

Many causes contributed to bring on the just mentioned result, and it will suffice to mention some of them as a specimen:—Various literati from many countries professing different religions assembled at the Court and enjoyed the honor of personal intercourse with His Majesty. After

2 Literally: they became *Sabîty* and *Qabîty*, an allusion to the peopl of Moses and of Pharaoh.

the discussions and investigations besides which they had no other occupations either in the night or the day, these men retailed the subtleties of science, the maxims of philosophy, the wonders of history, and the curious acts of high personages, to record which many volumes would not suffice. The Emperor had according to the proverb of the three perditions, "Indulgence of lust, gluttony, and self-conceit," made a selection of all sorts of pleasing things and persons, except of Musúlmáns, and considered it his duty to keep aloof from everything disagreeable; and gathered and retained from his childhood till his youth, and from manhood till old age, a variety of opinions in his daily intercourse with mankind, besides those accumulated from books; and the consequence was, that a dreadful idea became fixed in his mind as firmly as letters engraved on stone, namely that wise men exist in all religions, and that asectism, miracles and prophecies were practised among all nations, and that therefore the truth, which is in all places, cannot be confined to a religion which is of recent origin and has not yet survived one thousand years, and that therefore it is futile to favor one religion more than another without any proofs of its superiority.

Samanyahs[3] and Brahmans who had by their flatteries and intrigues forestalled all others in their intercourse with the Emperor, and who excelled all other scholars and distinguished men in bibliographical, political, religious, philosophical and intellectual sciences, adduced arguments based on reason and experience to establish the truth of their own and the falsehood of all other religions, and obtained in course of time

3 This name is applied by El-Masudi p. 319 to the religion of the Chinese; it is of course a corruption of *Sramana*, but whether Buddhists are really meant here, is not certain, although Tibetans are mentioned as having come to the Court of Akbar.

such credit that they considered evident matters only as transitory ones although no sophistry can destroy them :—

> "Even if the mountains were to be ground to powder and the heavens rent asunder."

All the statements about the resurrection and the day of judgment, as well as other secondary matters based on the prophetic radiations[4] were disregarded by them, but they constantly harped on the vilifications of the easy, brilliant and orthodox religion, some of which are contained in the vaticinations of rhetorical books; and cajoled and decoyed His Majesty to their own ways in the language of the circumstances :—

> A lover gave to a maiden advice :
> Do not to every one in smiles arise!
> And when advice all bounds had past
> The Belle raised her brows at last!

Before the above discussions had taken place, the Emperor several times took a Brahman called Parkutam [Parshutum] who had interpreted the book Khirad wáfar,[5] into his private apartments for the purpose of giving the Hindu names of various things in special terms; and sometimes he got a demoniac Brahman, who had been one of the interpreters of the Mahabárat[6] placed on a bed and hoisted up to a pavillion used as a bed-room; and keeping him suspended there,[7] listened to Hindu fables about the worship of idols, of fire, of the sun, reverence to the stars, and the veneration due to the princes of the unbelievers, such as Brahma, Maha-

4 I take this to mean the Qoran, but it might also mean a book of that title.

5 Abundant wisdom

6 *Great Bhárat*, name of the celebrated epic poem on the wars of the race of Bhárat.

7 No doubt ladies were inside, and therefore the Brahman outside.

dev,[8] Vishnu, Krishna, Rama, and Mahá-Máy,[9]—all of whom are presumed to have existed as men, but certainly do not exist, although the Hindus erroneously consider some of them to be gods, and others angels—as well as to descriptions of the customs and manners of this country. Thus His Majesty drifted towards those opinions, became a firm believer in the transmigration of souls and considered the saying: "There is no religion but it contains something of metempsychosis" to be correct; and flatterers who were Muhammadans only in name[10] wrote treatises to demonstrate this doctrine. After studying the religions of the unbelievers of India—who consist of innumerable tribes and although they possess countlesss books, have no scriptures[11]—the Emperor's mind was biassed in their favor and the fruits of that wicked tree appeared every day. For some time he was in the habit of calling up in the manner described above, Sheykh Tájuddyn—the son of Sheykh Zakryá Ajudhany of Delhi whom most of the grandees had surnamed "the crown of pious men," and who had been one of the disciples of Rashyd Sheykh Zemán Pány Pity author of the *Sharhh Lováyhh* and of many excellent treatises on Ssofy science; in the science of monotheism he was second only to Sheykh Abu Ăraby and had written an extensive commentary on the book "Nuzhat-ullárváhh"—and spent whole nights in listening to the impudent nonsense profess-

---

8 Shiva.

9 *Great-mother*, is the female active principle of creation, represented and worshipped in the shape of the sexual organ of a woman carved on a stone.

10 Thus I translate the words: *Khosh àmadyân Kalimah Gooy.*

11 Literally: they are not *àhl Kitáb.* The Jews only and the Christians are by Muhammadans considered to be *áhl Kitáb.*

ed by Ssofys,[12] and not being under the restraint of religious laws he took a great fancy to the doctrine of the unity of existence[13] preached by the futile Ssofys, which leads to atheism, as well as to the "Discussion on the belief of Pharao" (the curse of God be on him) recorded in the book *Fossúsulhhukm* and "the superiority of hope over fear" and the like; that allure man who is short-sighted by nature, but impelled by his intellect and by the interdiction of them by the religion; the influence of the laws whereof on the Emperor's mind were thus greatly impaired and his belief in them undermined. He considered that infidels would abide in fire but doubted of the eternity of their punishment and gave far-fetched explanations of the verses of the Qoran and of the history of the prophet (salutation to him) referring to the subject. He considered "the perfect man" to mean "the Khalif of the time"[14] and having applied this expression to his own person, he made various foolish arrangements in this matter, such as allowing himself to be worshipped and the act to be named "Earth-kiss," establishing respect to the Emperor to be the first duty, and considering his face as the Kăbah of all aspirations and as the Qiblah of all requests. On this subject he revived some forgotton traditions and customs of the disciples of some Indian divines, such as, that "the righteous and mighty Emperor has become the supreme perfect man;" and in the same way some of the great doctors, such as Sheykh Yăqub Kashmyry—who was the author of several

12 It may here be remarked that to this day the most contradictory opinions are entertained by Muhummadans concerning Ssofys and their doctrines; the orthodox however generally curse them; I preferred to use the word itself instead of mystics, and mysticism.

13 Unity of existence = the material universe = eternity of matter = there is nothing except matter &c.

14 i. e. reigning monarch.

wellknown books, and one of the chief religious teachers of the age—revived some of the doctrines of the *Ayn-ulqadzát* of Hamadány, such as: that in the same manner as Muhammad the messenger of God (Bl. o. h. and on his family) is the manifestation of the word 'director,' so also the devil is the manifestation of the word 'seducer,' and that in this world both manifestations have been active as we behold them.

Mollá Muhámmad Yazdy likewise went up in the manner recorded above, and having openly and wickedly maligned the three Khalifs,[15] accused most of the great companions,—the Tábis, the Tábis of the Tábis[16] with all the kith and kin of the saints of former and of latter times (may God bless them)—of profligacy and of infidelity, began to talk disparagingly of the Sunnys and wished all who did not belong to the Shyáh sect to be considered as lost in heresies. This difference of opinion among the Ulemmas, in consequence whereof the same act considered prohibited by one was by sophistry demonstrated to be permitted by another, increased the scepticism of the Emperor; nevertheless, as he esteemed every one of the Ulemmas of his own time to be higher in dignity and rank than Emám Ghazály and Rázy, but had witnessed their recriminations, he argued that those of ancient times were of the same stamp, and therefore denied their authority likewise.

Distinguished scholars from Europe who are called Padhrys—and their perfect Majtuhad who can alter laws in obedience to the exigencies of the times, but whose orders not even a king can transgress, is called Pápá—brought the Gospel, demonstrated the doctrine of the Trinity, es-

15 Abu Bakr Omar and Othmán.

16 Companions were the immediate associates of the prophet, then came the Tábis or followers, and then the followers of the followers &ca.

tablished the Truth of Christianity, and the Emperor made the religion of Jesus current and ordered prince Morâd to take several lessons in it for good luck. Sheykh Abulfadzl was ordered to translate it [the Gospel?] and instead of *Bism-illahe*[17] it contained the following verse:—

O thou whose name Jesus Christ we call

Namely: O thou whose name is very kind, and very beneficent; to which Sheykh Faydzy added the second hemistich:—

Praise to Thee! Only one! From us all!

These accursed fellows [priests?] applied the description and epithets of the accursed Antichrist to his lordship the best of prophets (the blessing of God on him and his family peace, inspite of the followers of Antichrist).

The accursed Byrber proposed that as the sun is a perfect manifestation and promotes the ripening of the harvests of corn, of fruits and of all green things, and that as the illumination of the universe and the lives of the inhabitants of the world are depending on it, it ought to be worshipped and magnified, and that people ought to turn towards the east and not to the west,[18] because then its face is in the direction of its setting; in this manner he spoke also of fire, water, stones, trees and of all manifestations down to the cow and its dung; he also recommended marks on the forehead and strings.[19] The conquered philosophers and scholars of the Court strengthened these arguments by asserting that the sun is the greatest luminary and benefactor

17 *In the name of God* the merciful the clement, with which every Moslem book commences.

18 Indian Muhammadans turn *nearly* to the west in their prayers, believing the Kûbah of Makkah to lie in that direction.

19 Both are badges of caste, the forehead mark our author calls *qashqah* and the string *zenâr*.

of the whole world; that it is the protector of sovereigns, and that the latter are its representatives. These declarations became the occasion of the enhancement of the solemnities of the Jallály new-year's day which His Majesty annually celebrated as a festival from the beginning of his reign.

Every day of the week being under the protection of one of the seven planets,[20] the Emperor dressed himself in the color of the planet of the day. At mid-night and at sunrise he repeated incantations[21] to the sun—which he had learnt from the Hindus—by way of prayers and prohibited the slaughtering of cows—whom the Hindus greatly esteem, and whose very dung they deem clean—and the eating of their flesh, but killed good men instead of them. The physicians approved of the prohibition and stated it to be an established fact in medicine that the eating of beef entails various diseases and hinders the digestion of food.

Fire-worshippers who had come from Nosary[22] of the Gujarát-country, asserted that the religion of Zoroaster is true, and that the magnification of the sun is a great adoration; they biassed the Emperor in their favor and instructed him in the rites and ceremonies of the Kyánians, so that he ordered Sheykh Abulfadzl to make arrangements to maintain fire constantly in the palace during the day and the night, according to the manner of the [ancient] Kings of Persia whose fire-temples were perpetually kept up, because it is a sign of the signs of God and a light of His lights; and the Homa,[23] which is a species of fire-worship had been practised by him from the prime of his youth in

---

20 Namely; Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn.

21 Our author has: *Duáay tasakhyr áftáb* (invocation to subdue the sun) by which he rendered the word *Mantra* (incantation).

22 A wellknown town in the Gaikowar's dominions, still inhabited by a great number of Parsees.

23 An offering made by fire, practised by Hindus.

company of the daughters of Hindu Rajahs in the interior of the Harem. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign, he publicly adored the sun and also fire, and the courtiers likewise made it their duty to rise up when lights and lamps were lit. On the eighth festival of Virgo, he had a painted forehead-mark when he entered the audience-hall, and tied a cord on which jewels were strung, received from Brahmans—on his arm for a blessing. In conformity with this proceeding, the grandees offered on that day gifts of pearls and jewels, and it became the fashion to wear a Râkhy,[24] meaning a twisted rag, on the arm. Thus the Emperor considered the ordinances broached by the adherents of all other religions to be perfectly authentic, whilst he despised those of Esllâm as altogether unreasonable and of recent origin; and their founder as a poor Arab, all of whom he called malefactors and highway robbers; his hatred of Esllâm increased in course of time so much—"they wish to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God will complete his light in spite of the unbelievers"—that there was no necessity to adduce any more arguments against it.[25]

I remember that in the beginning of the discussions I happened one night to converse with Sheykh Abulfadzl in the private audience hall[26] when he said: "I bear a grudge towards all authors; first because they have not given details about the ancient prophets like those of our own apostle (the blessing of God be on him and on his family, and peace) every year of whose life they have described."

24 The Rákhy is an amulet or string tied round the arm on a certain festival held in honor of Krishna, during the full-moon of Srávana.

25 Because he had already become a perfect infidel, and the enemies of Esllâm no longer needed to bring forth any arguments against it.

26 *Diván khánahi khâss* in contradistinction to the *Diván khanahi âám* the general audience hall.

I replied: "There exist numerous histories of prophets." He continued: "No, they are too brief, they ought to have been written in detail." I said: "As much knowledge as we possess about the other prophets, has been verified in course of time by commentators, historians and biographers, but the remainder has not been authenticated." He rejoined: "This can be no answer."—"Secondly:—In the *Tadhkirat-ullavlyá*, in the *Nufhhát-ullànus* and in similar works, all sorts of persons are mentioned; but what crime have the members of the [prophet's] family committed that they are passed over in silence? I am greatly astonished at this!" I said on the subject whatever occurred to me at the time, and asked him afterwards: "Which of these well-known religions do you approve of most?" And he replied: "I intend for some time to travel in the valley of unbelief!," and I continued playfully: "If you were to abolish the restraints of matrimony it would be a good thing?" as they say:—

He removed the yoke of the law, by God's grace
From the neck of the people; on his memory peace!

He smiled and went away; and as, according to the saying: "One favor of the judge is better than a thousand witnesses," he boldly fell out in all matters of the Faith with such old dotards as the Ssadr, the Qádzy, Hakm-ulmalik and Makhdúm-ulmalik are, controverted and utterly disregarded their opinions, and the Emperor was pleased, and secretly despatched Assof-Khán the head-paymaster to him with the question: "Why do you attack us?" And his reply was: "I am the servant of a man, which means that I am not the servant of the Badinján"; [27] and in a short time he succeeded by his skill in wrangling, with the aid of

27 Literally *cocoa-nut*, used in the Indian water-pipe; as if to say I am the servant of the Emperor and not of those old smokers, or cocoa-nuts.

[the writings of] his father, with the countenance of the Emperor, and with the smiles of fortune, in prostrating every one of them successively on the ground of humiliation and wretchedness as has been recorded; nor did any one professor of Esllám agree with him in his controversies, except Hakym Abulfatahh and Molla Muhommad Yazdy. When their intentions and aspirations became more bold I withdrew to the corner of retirement:—

"When the intentions increase, the difficulties decrease!"

And reciting the verse of flight I vanished from their sight, so that all that familiarity was changed to estrangement, and praised be God that I am as well off as I am. I neither found them worthy of regard, nor myself able to serve them, and was quite contented with my condition:—

Come! Let ceremony alone
Our mutual salutations are gone!

From time to time I stealthily approached the company sitting in the form of a horse-shoe, and was a spectator:—

People of different opinions
Cannot be companions
I looked at my ancient flame
And a spectator I became.

As the arrangement of the details of these events in a chronological order was almost impossible, I confine myself to the present narrative, and I take refuge with the loving kindness of God the Most High who is at all times and in all circumstances the keeper and protector of his servants; but to fulfil the promise—"will not the confederates of God be conquerors? Is not God a sufficient [Protector] of his servant?"—I was bold enough to write down these events, and in doing so I have strayed far from

the vale of precaution; but the Almighty is my witness—"and God is a sufficient testimony"—that nothing else but my grief and heart-burning for the departed religion of Esllám which has like the Ănqá retired to the Qáf[28] of exile and has withdrawn the shadow of its wings from the miserable denizens of the earth, have induced me to write this account.

I resign myself to what the creator has allotted me
Well has He done! And well do will He!

CHAPTER III.

Decree issued which makes the Emperor the supreme arbiter in all religious disputes.—Its text.—The Emperor's pilgrimage to Ajmyr.—His denial of the existence of genii, angels, rewards and punishments after death, except by way of metempsychosis.—The courtiers insult each other.—Curtailing and confiscation of salaries and lands.—The author's case.—Two taxes abolished.—Mollá Muhammad Yazdy issues a Fetwa on the duty of rebelling against the Emperor.—Tumults arise.—Muhammad Yazdy and others drowned by order of the Emperor.—Mollahs suspected of disloyalty killed.—The Ullemmas of Lahora exiled, by being appointed and dispersed in various parts of India.—Miserable death of Hháji Ebràhim.—Fermans concerning learned men.—They are invited to court, but two Sheykhs manage to be quickly dismissed.—Some announce the approaching end of the world.

(p. 270-287)

About this time a decree was issued (with the signatures and seals of Makhdúm-almalik, and Sheykh Ăbd-unnaby, and the Ssadr of Śsadrs, and of Qádzy Jallál-uddyn Multány who was the Qádzy of Qúdzys, and Ssadr Jehán, the supreme Mufty, and of Sheykh Mobáruk who was the most learned of the Ullemmas of the age, and of Ğázy Khán Badukhshy

28 Anqa is a fabulous bird somewhat analogous to our Phoenix, its shadow is an omen of happines; Qáf is a chain of mountains, which surrounds the world according to the Muhammadan belief.

who had no equal in his knowledge of intellectual[1] sciences) defining the absolute superiority of the decision of an *Emám ăádil*[2] over a *Mujtahad* in all controversies and demonstrating it from authoritative traditions, so that hereafter no one might impugn such a decision, or appeal against it either to religious or to secular laws. The discussion on this subject lasted for a long time, but it turned on the question to what persons the words *ijtahàd* and *mujtahad* were applicable; and also that the *Emàm ăàdil* who is acquainted with political proprieties is far superior to *mujtahads*, and can in conformity with the circumstances and requirements of the time, give his decision in any controverted question; until at last some affixed their signets willingly and some unwillingly to the document the text whereof is as follows:—

Decree.

As Hindustan—may it be spared all calamities—has under the just government of His imperial Majesty become the centre of security and freedom in the circle of justice and beneficence, and as numerous persons of various nations but especially Ulemmas, poets, and scholars of great learning, who are guides on the road to salvation, have from Arabia and Persia come to this country and have settled in it;—The assembly of great Ulemmas versed in the original and derived, as well as in the intellectual and traditional sciences, and distinguished in religion, piety and uprightness, have—after maturely considering, and deeply investigating the blessed verse: "Obey God, and obey the prophet, and your governors", and the authentic tradition:

1 The word is *măqúl*, and designates one of the two general divisions of sciences, based on intellect. The second is *manqul* and designates those based on tradition, experience, practice &c.

2 Literally: *Righteous Emám* but meaning the Emperor Akbar, who had in this manner induced the highest functionaries to sanction his decisions.

"The man most beloved by God on the day of resurrection will be the righteous Emâm.[3] Who obeys the Amyr[4] has verily obeyed me, and who disobeys the Amyr has verily disobeyed me", and other secular and religious testimonies to the same effect—decided that with God the rank of the righteous Sulttân is higher than that of a Mujtahad, and that (as His Majesty the Sulttân of Esllâm, the refuge of nations, the commander of the faithful, the shadow of God over the inhabitants of the earth, Abulfatahh Jallâluddyn Muhammad Akbar the victorious Emperor, may the Most High perpetuate his reign, is at all times most wise and most knowing in God) if His Majesty should in questions of religion, whereon Mujtahads differ, by virtue of his penetrating intellect and prudent consideration choose to take another view for the sake of promoting the welfare of mankind and the order of the government, and should issue commands to that effect, all persons are bound to obey them; further that if His Majesty shall of his own accord issue ordinances intended for the good of the people and not contrary to the Qorân,[5] it will be incumbent on every person to act in conformity with them, and their transgression will entail punishment in this world and in the next. This document was issued by the congregation of Ulemmas of the religion and divines well directed [in the road to salvation] "for the love of God and the publication of the duties of Esllâm." Dated in the month Rajab of the year nine hundred and eighty seven [A. D. 1579].

This decree was in the hand-writing of Sheykh Mobâruk, the others unwillingly signed it, but he wrote of his own

---

3 Emam âádil.

4 *Amyr* is governor, superior, magistrate, Emperor.

5 The word is *Nassy* which means the Qorân, the traditions, but also a kind of grass.

accord at the end of it the words: "This is an order for which I have longed for many years from my whole heart and soul."—As soon as the Emperor had got hold of this Fetwa, the road to disputes became opened, the wisdom of the Emám [i. e. the Emperor] unquestioned and all obstacles vanished; the distinction between what is licit or illicit was kept in abeyance, the Emám's[6] wisdom overruled the law of the religion and he called Esllám a farce. As for Sheykh Abulfadzl he acted precisely like Hhayraty the poet of Samarqand who, having suffered much persecution from the cold natured Mávaránnaharians went over to the conservatives of Éráq to spite them, so that the words: "I preferred fire to shame" became applicable to him.

On the fifteenth day of the month Rajab during this year, the Emperor started [on a pilgrimage] to Ajmyr, which he had not visited for fourteen years. On the twenty-fifth of Shábăn, at a distance of five kuruhs[7] his Majesty alighted and walked on foot to the place; and the wise men laughed, saying: It is most wonderful that he has such a faith in the Khojah of Ajmyr, and that he denies the origin of origins[8] possessing in every place thousands of witnesses as perfect as the Khojah (may God sanctify his noble secret) who takes up his fancy so much:—

> The fairy hides her face and the demon is in open sport
> Imagination is astounded at the fact
> In this garden where no thornless rose comes forth
> The lamp of Musttapha and Abulahab's sparks in concert act.[9]

---

6 i. e. Emperor's.

7 A Kuruh is considered to be (one third of a Farsakh) 3000, or 4000 guz i. e. yards.

8 i. e. God.

9 Allusion to the Emperor who was a Moslem (adherent of Muhammad Musttapha) and at the same time an infidel like Abu Lahab or whom see 111th chapter of Qoran.

After the departure of Makhdùm-almalik and of Sheykh Ăbdunnaby, the Emperor attempted to prove to the world that the Qorán was created,[10] that its inspiration was an impossibility, and that prophecies were dubious. He utterly denied the existence of genii, of angels, of all supernatural things and miracles, as well as the literal sense of the Qorán, the immortality of the soul after the destruction of the body, and rewards or punishments after death, except by way of metempsychosis, and recited verses like the following :—

In the hands of some infidels
A few Qoràns and a few blind priests remain
A blind man to no one nothing tells
No one seeks the Qoran's secrets, we exclaim!

[and also the following lines :—]

The feast has come and will mend affairs, like the face of a bride
The cup-bearer new goblets pours, like cock's blood to remain
The reins of fasting, the bridle of prayers, shall not abide
They will be taken off the necks of these asses, once more again.

His Majesty ordered the words : "There is no God but God ! Akbar is the Khalif of God !"[11] to be used publicly ; but, apprehending a revolt of the people, he was satisfied to get them uttered privately in the Harem by several persons, and the date of this event is fixed by the words "Tumults of the people."[12] He also invited Quttubuddyn Muhammad Khán, Shahbáz Khán and others like them to leave off the hypocrisy of the true religion, but they refused, and the former replied: "When the Emperors of the world,

10 *Not existing from all eternity*, as the orthodox believe.

11 To supplant the profession of the Faith which consists of the words "There is no God but God ! Muhammad is the prophet of God !"

12 The numerical value of the words *Fitnáy-amt* gives A. H. 987 A. D. 1579.

such as the Sulttán of Turkey and others hear such proposals, what will they say? All of them profess the same religion whether it be hypocritical or not." Whereon the Emperor exclaimed: "You have shown this resistance for the sake of the Sulttán of Turkey; to please him and to prepare a place for yourself when you go away from here, to obtain honor, Go there!" On the other hand Shahbáz for his part fell out with Byrber the hell-hound, who had openly insulted the religion; and insulted him likewise openly, saying: "Accursed infidel! Now you also utter such proposals, but we are able to get over you!" When the dispute became violent His Majesty addressed to Shahbáz Khán in particular and to the others in general the following words: "I shall order a boot full of dirt to be struck on your mouths!"

About this time Tarsoon Muhammad Khán the governor of Patan arrived from Gujarát, and during this year Qádzy Ăly Bagdády, who had been appointed in the place of Ăbdunnaby to investigate the claims of land-grants as appointments and incomes, passed over in silence those of the grades of one thousand, of five-hundred, down to those of the grade of one hundred, confiscating the greatest part, and leaving them very little, so that the honor of powerful and great families was destroyed and celebrated personages fell into oblivion—whilst the offspring of low fellows such as the children of Hindus did not remain unprovided for; "and they were succeeded by a generation which neglected prayers, and followed their own lusts, schools and mosks were deserted,"—and most of them emigrated, leaving their helpless sons, who were in course of time nick named 'low fellows.'[13]

---

13 The word is *Pájygary* an irony on the word *Bájgir* (tribute-taker, collector) but the former is Hindostani.

Schools by Ullemmas are forsaken
Like wine-shops in the fasting month,
Qoràns are as pledges taken
The teachers table is a gambling bond.

The Emperor scolded Hhakym Ulmalik greatly on account of the latter'a enmity towards Abulfadzl whom he called Fadzlah,[14] and ultimately ordered him to depart to Makkah.[15] During the blessed month of Ramadzan of this year, the above mentioned Qádzy Ăly took also notice of me in the country of Ajmyr—although I had ceased to be on attendance at the court, and had thought that I had fallen into oblivion—and meant to deprive me of the one thousand Bigahs alloted for my support:—

In time and out of time how long must I attend
At the governor's court, the loss of a few Bigahs to prevent.

The Emperor said: "I think in his commission also a salary was mentioned?" The Qádzy replied: "Yès, on the condition of service." His Majesty said: "Perhaps he was sick because he left the service?" Qázy Khán Badakhshy said jocosely: "Yès, he suffered from bad luck;" and every one of the courtiers took my part on account of my former Emámship[16]—for at that time prayers had again ceased to be held—Shahbàz Khán the pay-master said: "He is always in the service, and the Emperor replied: "We do not force any one to remain in our service, and if he does not like it, let his land allowance be reduced to the moiety." I immediately resigned, whereat the Emperor was greatly displeased and turned away. When afterwards

14 Superfluity.

15 Akbar got rid of many persons by sending them on pilgrimage.

16 In the beginning of his career our author had on account of his sonorous voice been selected as Emám or officiating priest at the prayers of the court, but his services in that capacity were afterwards dispensed with.

Qâdzy Ăly repeatedly asked him about orders concerning me, he said that Sheykh Ăbdunnaby—who was yet in the camp—ought to be asked to what amount of land I was entitled without the condition of serving; and the Sheykh sent the late Mullanà Alhudâd Amruhah with the reply, that as I had a family and other expences, eight or seven hundred Bigahs ought to be allowed me. The courtiers however did not approve of this proposal and forced me again to enter the service against my will:—

When the sagacious bird falls into the snare
It must the consequences bear.

My repugnancy was chiefly owing to my refusal to take charge of the Dâg, which I had often been ordered to do, and I uttered the following distich in the language of the circumstances:—

I am glad that I have neither a trooper nor foot-man
That neither king nor prince bother me can.

In this year the Tamgâ as well as the Juzyah[17] was abolished, although the revenue from them amounted to several Krores of Rupees, and Firmâns were issued to that effect. In this year also Muhammad Măssûm Khân—the son of Moăyn-uddyn Ahmad Khan Farankhudy—who was governor of Jûnpûr arrived at the court and was reappointed to the same place, and Mollà Muhammad Yazdy was installed as the chief Qâdzy of it, and the governorship of Dehli was conferred on Muhhab Ăly Khân the son of Myr Khalyfah.

When Mollà Muhammad Yazdy arrived in the district of Jûnpûr, he issued a Fetwa on the duty of rebelling against the Emperor, and Muhammad Măssûm Kâbuly and Muham-

17 The Tamgâ is a tax on travellers, and the Juzyah is the capitation tax imposed on all unbelievers.

mad Măssûm Khán Farankhódy and Mir Muăz almalik, and Nyábut Khán and Arab Bahádur and others, having drawn their swords, perpetrated great acts of violence; the Emams likewise asserted that His Majesty had infringed on their means of subsistence and meddled in the religion of God, the Most High and glorious, and that if he wished to meet with mercy he ought to have mercy. At last Mihtar Săádat, who bears the title of Peshru Khán, brought on his return from a visit which he had made to Măssûm Khán of Jûnpùr, the contents of the Fetwa of Mullá Muhommad Yazdy to the notice of the Emperor, who invited Myr Moăz-ulmulk and Muhammad Yazdy to leave Jûnpûr and to come to court. When they had arrived at Fyruzábád, which is eighteen Kuruhs distant from Agra, the Emperor sent a mandate to separate them from their mounted escort, to place them both into a vessel, to make them cross the river Jumma, and to proceed with them in the direction of Gwalior. The above command was followed by another to the effect to destroy them, by placing their guards in one boat and the prisoners into another dilapidated one, and ordering the sailors to sink the latter in deep water; and that in a few days more Qàûzy Yăqûb was to arrive, from Bengal, who is to be served out in the same manner.—In this manner His Majesty despatched one by one the Mollás suspected of disloyalty, into the prison-house of non-existence; he also exiled the Ulemmas of Lahore and dispersed them like the pearls of a torn necklace. Of this number was Qàdzy Ssadruddyn of Lahore who was more worthy than Makhdûm Almalik, and was appointed Qádzy of Broach in Gujarat, Mollá Ăbdushshakûr Gauldár to be Qádzy of Jûnpûr; Molla Muhammad Măssûm was exiled to Behár, and Sheykh Manûr to Málwa, by making him the Ssadr of that district. In this manner all had to leave their homes except Sheykh

Măyn the grandson of Mullána Măyn the celebrated preacher, who was on account of his advanced age—and on account of his having been dubbed Shekh by Mollás who were only hypocrites, enemies of the religion, disloyal, poor and unhappy—approved of and left unmolested to remain at Lahore, until his death which took place in the year 995 [A. D. 1586.] Hhájy Ebráhym Sirhindy who had been appointed Ssadr of Gujarat accumulated a great deal of money from the Emams in bribes because whenever they refused to pay, he deprived them of their means of subsistence; and it was rumoured that he meant also to go to the Dekhan, when he was on suspicion of disloyalty recalled and his place given to Hakym Ăyn-ulmulk. The Emperor nevertheless often invited him to evening entertainments and gladly lent an ear to one of his lampoons containing aspersions against the chiefs of the religion, but all his fraud was discovered. He had namely written a false account (purporting to be from Sheykh Ebr Ăraby, may God sanctify his secret) in a worm-eaten book, in unknown characters to the effect:—that the lord of the age would have many wives and would be a barber, and he was described as possessing several qualities in common with the Emperor, into whose favor the writer insinuated himself and was admitted to court.

According to the narrative of Hhájy Ebráhym taken from an old treatise among the books of Mollá Abu Săyd the nephew of Myán Mán Pány Pity, they had established a tradition that an austere looking youth had presented himself to the view of his lordship, the prophet (the blessing of God be on him and on his family, and peace) and that he had said: "This will be the form of the inhabitants of paradise." But as the said Hhájy Ebráhym had quarrelled with, and had insulted Shah Fatahh-ullah and Sheykh Abulfadzl, and Hakym Abulfatahh, he was sent to the fort of Ranthnapoor

to die, and his body was—after dismantling the foundation—found tied with long pieces of cloth[18] and the rumor became current that he had thrown himself down from the top of the fort. This event happened in the year 964 [A. D. 1585]

As if in paradise we were last evening!
Without a house we are this morning!

The learning which people had acquired became the occasion of their misfortune and ruin. The Emperor despatched Fermáns to the Ullemmas and leading Sheykhs of the country and invited them to Court. He himself investigated their means of subsistence, treated them all according to the rules of etiquette, and conversing familiarly, he appointed some small landed property for their maintenance. Those however who were known to be in the habit of taking disciples, holding auditories,[19] or professing some kind of jugglery, or leading a migratory life, were either given shops, imprisoned in forts, or exiled to Bengal or in the direction of Bakar, and this movement was constantly going on. Old Pyrs and withered Sheykhs were however treated more mercifully than others; but the details of a narrative of this kind would be too long; suffice it to say, that in consequence of these Fermàns smacking of Ssofism, men of taste and learning became subordinate to Hindu functionaries, forgot the badness of the times, emigrated, retired to mice-holes, and their state became worse:—

In Damascus there was such a dearth
That friends forgot their love
No rain fell on the desolate earth
Not a drop moistened field or grove.[20]

18 Perhaps he intended to let himself down in that manner, and the clothes bursting he was precipitated to the ground.

19 The word is *somáă* which means also entertainment, singing, music, and even the circular dance of Durwaishes.

20 Gulistan.

Verily those easy going assemblies, odd habits, evil tricks, senseless ceremonies, and most of the unruly hypocritical Ssofys deserved to be discarded.

This is not Ssofysm and independence
These are tricks and roguery
Better is theft and other offence
Better to commit on a corpse robbery.

In this year the Emperor sent Hhakm-ulmalik, whom he considered to entertain different religious opinions, with a present of five Laks of Rupees to worthy persons of low and high descent, on pilgrimage to Makkah the great, as has been recorded, where he remained till his death:—

I shall never leave the corner of your hearth,
I am not an angel, only mortal earth:

Although afterwards orders were issued to recall him, he remained and dedicated the remainder of his life to God.

In this year also celebrated divines were invited to Court from all quarters, with every one of whom the Emperor held private discussions; most of them however wished to ingratiate themselves for the sake of a few Begahs of land—which ought to be despised—made use of flattery and hypocrisy, and thus became liable to absolute damnation, although their original intention was to show their absolute independence in matters of religion, which in itself is a property of its enemies. The Emperor perceived that they were entirely void of all abstinence, piety, content, and noblemindedness, and accordingly his suspicions were increased and propagated to other quarters also:—

These impudent fellows several
Rescinded *alefs láms* several [21]
They walked not in purity and truth, steps several
They are maligners of good names several.

---

21 Allusion to the letters alef and lám in the confession of Faith *La alak illalah* which they deny.

Of this number was Sheykh Chanyldah the greatest disciple of Sheyk-Ăbd-ulăzyz, an inhabitant of the Qussbah of Syuhanah, who had come down to the prayer-house by order, and had begun to read the prayers backwards and to explain them; he also announced that a certain woman would give birth to a male infant, but it happened to be a female one, and committed other follies likewise. Sayyid[22] Hăshem Firuzăbădy harped on the same string in a hundred different ways and augmented the Emperor's disbelief in the Sheykhs of ancient times. When however Sheykh Mutahy Afgăn Kasy was invited to come from the Punjab, he obeyed, and accompanying the imperial messengers on foot, caused his palankin to be carried after him; on his arrival in Fatahhpûr, he alighted at the house of Sheykh Jumăl Bukhtyar, and sent the following message to the Court: "The sight of me has not been lucky to any sovereign," and was therefore speedily dismissed. In the same manner Sheykh-ulhadyah Khayrăbădy who had travelled in the vale of poverty with the steps of ascetism and reliance on divine favor, had accepted no lands from the Emperor, and was of high lineage, arrived with his son Sheykh Abulfatahh—under whose direction I was during the end of the reign of Ăslym Shăh, at Sunbul (by the advice of Maŭlavy Ăllamy Ustădy Myăn Hătum Sunbuly, may God have mercy on him) reading the *Erhăd Qădzy* with a commentary, and who is now the vice-gerent of his father, and is distinguished by his learning, by his affability and by his position—at the Court according to command, and was kindly received, the Emperor being in a standing position. But on being questioned he pointed to the bystanders and said: "I [can] hear loud words [only]," accordingly, he was excused and dismissed with much politeness.

22 All descendants of the prophet bear this title

In this year low and mean pretenders to science who were in reality blockheads, adduced foolish arguments that the lord of the present age who would remove the discord of the seventy two sects[23] among Moslems and Hindus is no other than His Majesty; and Sharyf proved from the writings of Mahhmúd Basakhvány that in the year nine hundred and ninety [A. D. 1582] a man removing all falsehood would be in existence. This date was by every one applied to the author of the true religion which is according to the Jumal-calculation[24] the year nine hundred and nine, and Khojah Mullana Shyrazy an infidel knowing in the Jufur-science—who had brought treaties of several high personages from the noble city of Mukkah—asserted that according to authentic traditions the duration of the world which amounted to seven thousand years, had terminated, and that at present the advent of the promised Mohdy[25] was at hand; he had himself also composed a pamphlet on this subject. Similar nonsense was also set on foot by the Shyáhs concerning Ály the Commander of the Faithful (may God reward him) and some recited the following quartrain attributed to Hakym Násser Khosrú and to others:—

In nine hundred eighty nine by fate's command
All the stars will assembled stand
In the lion's year, the lion's day, and lion's month
That lion of God will stand in front.[26]

---

23 Mahammad himself is said to have foretold that the above number of sects would flourish in Esllâm.

24 By means of the *abjad* where each letter of the alphabet has a numerical value.

25 The coming of the Mohdy or *director*, is one of the signs of the resurrection, See Qoran, Sale's transl. Prelim. Disc, P. 58.

26 The epithet of Aly is *Lion of God*

CHAPTER IV.

A man is brought to Court who had no holes in his ears.—Experiment made with infants.—An organ exhibited.—Establishment of the order of allegiance.—Europeans refuse to undergo an ordeal by fire.—Sheykhs and Faqirs exiled to various places.—Akbar's belief in metempsychosis.—Festivities on the 28th anniversary of the Emperor's reign.—He orders the coins to be stamped with the date 1000, introduces the "Earth kiss," allows the use of wine medicinally.—Intemperance and prostitution, Sheytanpoor.—Prohibition to eat beef.—Akbar encourages the shaving of beards.—Ringing of Christian bells.—Written form of abjuration which persons signed who repudiated the Muhammadan and adopted the Elahy religion.—Pigs and dogs kept in the palace.—Various new notions.—Silk-garments, luxury of,—Prayers, fast, and pilgrimages which had already fallen into disuse, attacked in pamphlets.—Zoroastrian festivals substituted for the Muhammadan ones.—Elahy era.—Arabic religious learning discouraged, but the study of philosophy, medicine, mathematics, &c. encouraged.—Akbar redicules Eslam.—

(p. 288---310)

About this time a man who had no ears was brought to Court, and although he had not even holes, he was able to hear everything that was said, and the place where his ears ought to have been was as smooth as the remainder of the face.—During this year the Emperor determined to imprison a number of sucking babes with their nurses far from any inhabited place, so that they could not hear any voices, nor learn any words, for the purpose of experimenting on the veracity of the well-known tradition that: "Every child is born in the religion of Eslam," and to see what religion or sect these children would adopt, and what would be the first word uttered by them. Accordingly about twenty infants were taken from their parents (who were pacified with gold) and lodged in an empty building which was surnamed the 'abode of muteness'; after three or four years they were found to be dumb and thus justified the appellation of their dwelling, but the majority of them there again joined their mother earth :—

My mother is earth and I a suckling
But alas, am treated like a foundling.
I shall soon fall asleep mayhap
And rest in my mother's lap.

About this time (A. H. 988 A. D. 1580) a musical instrument called an organ, which is one of the wonders of created things, and had been brought from Europe by Hhâjy Hhabyb-ullah, was shown to the people. It looked like a large box as high as a man, and a European sitting within struck its chords, whilst two others were without, striking with their fingers five peacock-feathers and other things. This instrument performed also various tricks and the Europeans were in such a glee that they came up with their color changed every moment from red to yellow, and went from one state of excitement into another[1]. The whole assembly was amazed at this wonderful performance which it is impossible to describe. During this audience the Emperor ordered every one to give his opinion and to tell whom he thought the wisest man in our age, but not to mention the names of sovereigns because they are exceptions from the common rule. Therefore all present said something, Hhakym Hamâm considered his own self to be the wisest man, Sheykh Abulfadzl, his own father, and so on.

About this time the order of loyalty to the companion[2], which embraced four degrees, was established; these consisted in renouncing property, life, honor, and religion for his sake[3]; and the members of it who agreed to make

1 Possibly not real persons, but figures such as *Punch* and *Judy* in the organ are meant.

2 The word is *ikhlâss*, meaning: sincerity, probity, truth, piety &c but as the companion was the Emperor, the word loyalty is the most suitable one.

3 This is something like the *man, tan* &c of the Vaishnavas.

one of the just mentioned sacrifices belonged to the first degree and so on.

About this time the Emperor sent for Kuttub Jalsyry an enthusiast who was in charge of Sheykh Jamáluddyn Bukhtyár, and set him to dispute with European priests in the presence of the wise men and the divines of the time. The Sheykh ordered a great fire to be kindled and (the enthusiast) said: "I shall leap into it to prove my assertions, and he that comes out unscathed will have the truth on his side." When everything was ready he took hold of a European and exclaimed: "Come! In the name of God!" But none of the latter would move. The Emperor was displeased and sent him in the company of some other Faqirs to Bakar where they died. In the same manner a number of Sheykhs and Faquirs were exiled to various places, but they were mostly sent to Kandahár on horses—at this time also persons who kept disciples and were noted Elahys[4], and preached, were taken and brought. On being questioned whether they repented of that nonsense, they refused to do so, because they had in that manner retained the religion of Esllám, and fasts under the disguise of new names—which merchants exchanged for steeds of Turky breed, and brought back the latter.

His Majesty sent for the grandsons of Sheykh Adhan—who was a great divine of Junpúr—with their families and dependents, exiled them to Ajmyr, and gave them a pension, but some of them died, and others still live in great poverty.—Likewise Shekh Hosseyn the grandson of his

4 Adherents of the *towohhyd elahy* or "divine monotheism" adopted by the Emperor himself and intended to supersede Esllám; but probably the individuals here mentioned went farther in the matter than the inventor of the new religion thought safe, or rational. The context however warrants the supposition that they were Eláhys only outwardly and Moslems inwardly.

worship the Khojah Moăyn-uddyn (may God sanctify his secret) who had not gained the Emperor's approbation, was, after his return from the noble city of Makkah and arrival in Fatahhpûr, reproved as before, and on suspicion of disloyalty, exiled to Bakar, until in the year one thousand and two (A. D. 1593) Nitzâm-uddyn Ahhmed brought his name also forward in connection, with his petition for the recall of the Kâdzy of Fatakhpûr from Bakar and of Sheykh Kumâl Bayâbâny, when they were all ordered to the imperial Court and liberated after performing the "earth kiss [5]" and giving securities for their good behaviour.

On the nineth of Mohurrum in the year nine hundred and ninety (A. D. 1582) Aătzim Khân arrived from Bengal; and one evening the Emperor said to him in conversation; "We have discovered absolute proofs of the truth of metempsychosis, and Sheykh Abulfadzl will be able to convince you of it" and he also adopted this doctrine.

On the 15th of the month Ssafar of this year, the anniversary of the 28th year of His Majestey's reign took place. Both the private and the public audience-hall were hung with various gaudy clothes, a costly throne sporting many hues was erected, European curtains and exquisite pictures were exhibited, and high awnings suspended. Even the bazars of Agra and of Fatahhpur were decorated in this style, and His Majesty kept up the feast during eighteen days. Thousands of all sorts of people of both sexes playing on Indian and Persian musical instruments, as well as actors were invited and performed every day in the hall of some great Amyr whom the Emperor honored with his presence and accepted costly gifts and hospitality; and as he had firmly established it in his own opinion that

5 Analogous to the Chinese *Kow-tow* or knock-head, and introduced several years ago, as mentioned above.

the thousand years from the mission of the prophet (to whom be greeting), appointed for the duration of Esllam, had elapsed, and as there remained no obstacle hindering him to manifest the secret wish of his heart, and as he had got rid of all the divines and Ullemmas of authority and influence —whose opposition he might have apprehended—he set about without let or hindrance in his work of abolishing the commandments and doctrines of Esllám, of establishing new-fangled laws and of destroying all religion. First of all he ordered that coins should bear the date "one thousand," that the *Tàrykh alefy*[6] (beginning) from the death (of Muhammed) should be written, and other things in conformity with the state of the times, but astounding to the intellect; such as: that adoration in the guise of "earth-kiss" is due to sovereigns, and that wise persons may drink wine medicinally for the sake of their health, without intoxicating themselves or exciting tumults, but that in the latter case they would incur punishment. Accordingly, for the sake of maintaining equity a wine-shop was established at the Court with the aid of the lady-gatekeeper who belonged by birth to the caste of wine-sellers; the price of the liquor was fixed and every one purchasing it as a medicine was obliged to cause the superintendent to write down his name, the name of his father and of his grandfather, and then to take it away. In this manner the people gave false names when they made purchases and a door was opened to intemperance. It is said that pig's flesh was also an ingredient of that wine, but God knows best! In spite of the precautions taken, quarrels and fights ensued, and although every day many persons suffered chastisement, it took no

6 Literally: *History of one thousand* i, e. History composed one thousand years after Muhammad's death, which was actually done as will afterwards appear.

effect. Further, the number of prostitutes assembled in the capital, had exceeded all bounds, so that a village was built without the city and named Sheytanpur, over which likewise a guardian, a darogah and a superintendent were appointed to write down the names and rank of all persons visting or having dealings in that locality, and not to allow any one to take away dancing women to his house without first complying with this formality, and in case any such man happened to be a high Courtier, the darogah was bound first to obtain the permission of the Emperor or else to refuse all intercourse between the parties. In this manner also ruffians had transactions in disguise, but in their drunkenness and folly they shed blood and were punished; others however renewed their tricks with fresh boldness:—

Her beauty is such that she kills her lover
But his place is soon taken by another!

His Majesty summoned several noted courtezans secretly into his presence and examined them on the persons who dealt with them. In this manner he obtained the names of great and honored Amyrs whom he rated soundly, and kept imprisoned for a long time. One of them was Rajah Byrber who boasted of being a disciple of the order of loyalty, and of having gradually been promoted to the privileges and excellencies of the fourth degree, but was not able to abstain from women. When this took place he happened to be in his Jagyr in the Purgunah of Korah, and on receiving information that his secret had been divulged, he wanted to become a Jogy, but was summoned to the Court.

Another (whim) was the prohibition to eat beef and the strictness on this subject; the reason for which was as follows; as the Emperor had from his infancy been accustomed to associate with dissolute Hindus in whose minds the veneration of the bovine species—which is according

to their opinion the cause of the existence of the world—occupies the central idea; and as the daughters of the great Rajahs of India, with many of whom he cohabited and who exerted great influence over him, abstained from eating beef, onions, and garlic, and from associating with bearded people, he adopted and still maintains Hindu customs at the Court, and for the sake of pleasing his friends entirely abstains from whatever might give offence to them. Accordingly he considered that the gentility and proper bearing of individuals depended entirely on the absence of their hirsute appendages and valliantly pleaded the barber's cause; he asserted that the beard received its nourishment from the t——— and that therefore eunuchs had none, and the keeping of beards would be neither of use nor danger; that in former times distinguished men considered a beard as a sign of piety and were blamed, and that now shaving it off is considered to be improper and not the keeping of it, because ignorant divines at present find fault with barbers, but if they were to consider the case with impartiality, they would find that they are wrong. The licentious and cunning Muftis likewise adduced a forgotten tradition, as some Kádzys are in the habit of doing, and inverted the meaning of the word "Transgressions" by stating that the shaving of beards was the occupation of some Kádzys of Eráq.

In the beginning of my service Hhakym Abulfatahh took one day notice that my moustache was a little shorter than usual, and said to me in the presene of the late lamented Myr Abulgaith Bokhâry (may the mercy of God be on him): "This shortening on your part was not handsome," and I replied: "The shortcoming is the barber's and not mine," and he continued: "Do not do it any more because it is unbecoming and looks bad," some time afterwards

however he himself outdid the Hhayderys, the Jolgys and even the Hindus, and was so clean shaved that he was envied by beardless youths, and set himself up as a hair-splitter about hair-shaving.

"Who puts his brother to shame,
Dies not, but God puts him to the same!"

Also the ringing of Christian bells, the exhibition of the picture of the Trinity and the Bulbulan which is their place of amusement, together with all sorts of games and sports were set agoing, and the words "Infidelity was propagated" embody the date[7]; and matters came to that pass after ten or twelve years, that the majority of scoundrels such as Myrzá Jány the governor of Tatah and other apostates issued statements in their own hand-writing in the subjoined form:—

"I A. B. who am the son of C. D. have with great pleasure and of my own free-will abjured the insincere and hypocritical religion of Esllám which I have heard of and seen practised by my fathers, have adopted the "divine religion of the Emperor Akbár[8]", and have received the four degrees of loyalty, which consist in the abandonment of property, life, hononor and religion."

After handing in this written adhesion—which was nothing less than a malediction—to the Mujtahad of the new religion, the writer was considered worthy of the confidence and regards of the Emperor (which act of impiety was enough to cause the heavens to be rent asunder, the earth to open its bowels and the mountains to crumble to pieces) who went further and for the purpose of vilifying the doctrines of Esllám, considered pigs and dogs, a num-

7 The letters *kfr sháyă shd* give A. H. 985 A. D. 1577.
8 The words are: *Dyn elahy Akbar Shâhy.*

ber of which he kept within the Harem and beneath the castle, not to be unclean, and accounted it as an act of piety to view them every morning; and the Hindus who believe in the incarnations, believed the hog to be one of those ten manifestations in which the Most High (whose name be praised and glorified), was incarnated[9]:

"The Lord preserve us of what they say."

And as the Emperor had adopted the statement made by some illuminati that if a man possesses one of the ten laudable qualities peculiar to a dog, he is a saint; several courtiers who have, together with the king of poets,[10] on account of their readiness to please His Majesty in everything, become proverbial, associated with some dogs at their tables and eat food with them, and were imitated by a number of Eraqy and Hindu poets who went even further and boastfully took the tongues of dogs into their own mouths:—

Tell the Amyr you have a dog and corpse within your skin
Make not a dog your companion at meals, nor call it in.

Further, the religious duty of ablution after an emission of seed was entirely laid aside on the ground that the essence of man is sperm from which all good and holy persons are created, and that therefore it is irrational to wash after the emission of urine or sperm which is a very clean thing, but that it is incumbent rather to wash before having sexual connection. Likewise, that it is improper to give a repast on the anniversary of a man's death, because there is no pleasure in it, but on the anniversary of his birth, which was called 'the repast of life'; and that on such an occasion he ought to be made to eat the flesh of a boar or of a lion to increase his bravery. [Orders were like-

9 The god Vishnu was incarnated as Varâha or boar.
10 This was the title of Faydzy.

wise issued.] That cousins and near relatives ought not to intermarry[11] because their conjugal affection will be slight; further that a boy ought not to be allowed to marry after the age of sixteen, and a girl after that of fourteen years, because their offspring will be feeble.

The wearing of gold ornaments and of silk apparel became a strict religious duty, and on beholding the Mufty of the realm one day, attired in a garment of pure silk, I asked him whether he had consulted any tradition on the subject and he replied: "Yes wherever sewing silk is used clothing of pure silk is also licit;" I rejoined: "That tradition was evidently adopted only by order of a sovereign;" he said: "No there are other reasons," but God is most wise.

Prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage had fallen into disuse before this, but now some bastards, such as the son of Molla Mobarok, who was the chief disciple of Sheykh Abulfadzl, wrote treatises to ridicule these religious ordinances and were greatly praised by the Emperor who now abolished also the Arab era and established a new one beginning with the first year of his own reign which was the year 963 [A. D. 1555]; he named the months according to the fashion of the kings of Persia as recorded in the "Kitáb Nissáb"; he likewise established fourteen holidays in the year according to the manner of the Zoroastrians, and disregarded the festivals of the Musulmáns, except the sermon of the Fridays which was attended by old and ignorant dotards.

In the new era the year and the month were called "Elahy," and the date "one thousand" was stamped on the

11 This is also contrary to the Muhammadan religion, the professors whereof adduce many reasons of their own together with the examples of their forefathers in favor of marriages among cousins.

coin of the realm,[12] as a sign of the abolition of the true religion of Muhammad (upon whom be the blessing of God and peace) which was considered not to be able to outlast a millennium. To read or to know Arabic was accounted a fault, and those who occupied themselves with theology, commentaries of the Qorán, and traditions were despised and reproved; the study of astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and of novels, was encouraged and made a religious duty; the letters peculiar to the Arabic tongue, such as *thá*, *hhá*, *ăyn*, *ssád*, *dzád* and *tzá* were scouted in the pronunciation, and if any one said *ábdullah*, for *ăbdullah*, and *ăhady* for *áhhady* &c. the Emperor was greatly pleased, and quoted the two distichs given by Firdousy of Ttoos, in the Sháhnameh as a slander, as expressing the truth:—

> From drinking camels' milk and eating lizzards
> The Arabs their power magnify
> They covet the realm of Persia, the braggarts
> Fy on the world! O fy!

Whenever His Majesty heard a strophe of doubtful meaning or congeniality with his own disposition quoted from poets, he used it as a corroborative argument—such were the verses of the Sajah-rák, made concerning the breaking of the blessed front-teeth of his lordship (th. bl. o. G. b. o. h. & h. h. f. &c.)—in this manner he ridiculed every fundamental doctrine and every tenet of Esllám based on the Qorán or on traditions, in various manners, and attacked, the prophet, the scripture, traditions, ceremonies, the creation and the resurrection, and if any one wished to reply he was prohibited to do so; it is moreover known that any hint

12 Literally on the *Tankas* and *Mohurs*, the former of which were of copper and the latter of gold.

of this kind is very readily taken when an opponent is all-powerful, whereas in disputation both ought to be equals :—

Whom neither Qorân nor tradition please
Let alone! The best answer is.[13]

In consequence of these controversies many families were ruined; (but God forbid that I should call them controversies, they were arrogant transgressions); on the other hand, the apostates who were anxious to ingratiate themselves, ferretted out obsolete doubts and brought them into notice like exquisite presents; one of them was the Khojah Luttyf who was a grandee, and one of the grandee-descendants of Transoxiana who fished out of the "Shamáyl Tarmadhy" the tradition "as if it were an effigiated neck" and asked how it would be to compare the neck of the prophet (to whom be greeting) to the neck of an idol?—In this manner also the she-camel Qassva[14] and her noted celerity, the plundering of the Qoraysh-caravan in the beginning of the Flight, the marrying of fourteen wives, and the unlawfulness of wives to their husbands when the prophet (to whom greeting) himself took a fancy to them, and the like matters were discussed, the enumeration whereof would require a long time.

My grief for your curls and cheeks to explain
For long nights and moonshine must remain!

The Emperor ordered forty courtiers to sit opposite to the same number of men on certain nights, every one of them being allowed to say whatever he liked and to ask any questions he wanted. If however any person made enquiries on [religious] science they replied: "Such things must be asked from Mollás, but those connected with intellect and

13 Gulistán.
14 Name of the prophet's favorite riding-camel.

philoshophy from us!", and whatever they recorded from their studies of biographical works, concerning the companions, chiefly related to the first three Khalifs,[15] the affair of Fadak and to the battle of Ssiffyn,[16] and the like—from hearing which all ears ought to become deaf, and which it is impossible to repeat—so that the Shyăhs were conquerors and the Sunnys conquered, good men were in all places afraid and the wicked, unconcerned. Every day brought forth a new order and a fresh slander, and the Emperor believed that his principles were established by scouting those of others, because he was not aware 'that' every scorner is scorned,' therefore the approved were considered reprobates and vice versa, those who ought to have been near to him were far and vice versa! Praise be to Him who disposeth of His kingdom as He pleaseth!—Nor was there any other conversation among high and low persons, than "Vorod Allah Akbar!"[17] and great tumults arose, on which occasion Mollá Shyri recited a little poem consisting of ten distichs, six of which are here inserted:—

Ere other times remove the calamity
Tumults in the fortunes of men will be,
The sword will the heads of infidelity
The necks from the loads of heads make free,
Respected will be the professors of piety
And the lying philosophers will confounded be.
It is the vain idea of a fool
That the people the prophet will forsake,
It is the opinion of a rogue's tool
That they the sport of the Court for prayers take.
This year the Emperor a prophet pretends to be
If God will, next year a God he will be.

---

15 Abu Bakr, Omar and Othmán.

16 Fought near Rakkah on the banks of the Euphrates between Aly and Moăvyah.

17 Prayers of Allah Akbar.

In the carousals of the new year's day, the Emperor seduced most of the Ulemmas, and pious men, nay even the Qádzy and Mufty to assist in the potations :—

Your love bears tidings of the world of unconsciousness,
It seduces pious men to wine and recklessness
Of what philosophy, my love, is thy memory a confection
That it throws everything we have read, into oblivion!

At last the Mujtahads, but especially the king of poets said: "We drink this toast to the infidelity of the divines!" and the Emperor having a greater regard for the nineteenth degree of Aries as it is the culminating point and the last day of the new year's fetivities, had a greater regard for that than for any other day, and conferred on the Amyrs higher stations, Jágyrs, horses, robes of honor, and presents, and entertained them with hospitalities.

CHAPTER V.

Two exiles return from Makkah.—Both die.—Rajah Bhagvandás cools the Emperor's ardour of reform.—Qádzy Jallál-uddyn Multány exiled.—In his stead Abdussamyá is made the chief Qádzy.—Prayers in the Durbar omitted, and the names of persons called Muhammad, changed to Rahmat &c.—Myr Futahh-ullah Shirazy arrives from the Dekan.—The Emperor does not interfere with his religion on account of his learning.—But reviles Muhammad in his presence.—Mollá Ahhmad arrives at court from the Dekhan.—Several authors are appointed to compose the Táry-kh álefy, a historical work beginning from the death of the prophet and ending with the latest events.—The author is one of the writers and the Emperor blames him.—Is nevertheless appointed again to revise dates when the work was completed.—The Mahabhárat translated; its contents.

(p. 311—321.)

During this or the following year, Ábdunnaby and Mukhdúm-almalik who had been condemned to perpetual exile—having heard the news about Myrzá Muhammad

Hhakym, and about insurrections of the Amyrs—arrived from Mukkah in Gujarát, because they hankered after their former authority and did not remember the saying that "What is past, returns not":—

> Friend! the world is spacious, it has a corner for me and one for thee
> Like locusts in the king's field there is an ear of corn for me, and one for thee.

Mukhdúm-almalik died at Ahhmadábád in the year 990 [A. D. 1582] and Qádzy Ály was despatched from Fatahhpoor to ascertain the amount of his property; when he arrived in Lahore he discovered that it consisted of incredible riches among which were found several coffins, disinterred from the family-crypt of Mukhdúm-almalik filled with gold bricks which he had buried under pretence that they contained corpses; but also the wealth that had not remained unconcealed from the sight of men was so great that no one except the creator (whose glory be magnified) is aware of it. All the gold-bars, together with his books—which were also like bricks—were confiscated for the treasury of the realm, and his sons who several times underwent tortures, suffered great poverty.—Sheykh Ábdunnaby made his appearance in Fatahhpúr, used bad language, and on being struck in the face by the Emperor himself, he exclaimed; "Why dost thou not strike me with the sword," and was made over to Rajah Tudarmul to render an account how he had spent the seventy thousand Rupees given to him by his Majesty on his departure to the noble city of Makkah; he was for some time kept imprisoned like the inspectors in the Kutchery of the Dufturkhana[1] and was one night strangled by some persons; his corpse was left exposed in the open

1 House of records.

air till the afternoon prayers, " which is an example to men of understanding." This affair happened in the year 992 and its date is fixed by the words *Sheykh Kunby*.[2] As the saying goes :—

Although a Sheykh is said to be like a prophet
Our Sheykh is not like a prophet but a peasant
Destiny's nature is to knock off a head
No one can save his head from that tyrant;
It protects no one but kills him at last
Its love is slow but its hate is fast.

In this year Sheykh Mobárak said, in the presence of the Emperor, privately to Byrbar and very emphatically : " In the same way as your books have undergone many changes, so our religion has suffered many alterations and there is no confidence in it left." During this year also a number of reprobate and shameless fellows—for whom there is no hope in the next world—said to the Emperor : "As a millennium has expired since the Flight,[3] why do you not like Shah Esmáyl the first, make use of a cutting argument ?"[4] After a while however the conclusion was arrived at, that their aspirations will necessarily be realized by the lapse of time and by prudent measures, without using the sword. Indeed if most of the courtiers sympathised with these wishes and pretentions, what must have been the excitement of the populace; verily it was ensnared in the meshes of Satan, and the following quartrain of Hhakym Násser Khosrú was récited :—

---

2 The letters *Sh-y-kh K-n-b-y* also give A. H. 992, A. D. 1584.—*Kunby* means a poor peasant and *Naby* a prophet ; hence the play of words.

3 Hajrat.

4 Why do you not use violence to abolish Eslám in the same way as Shah Esmáyl extirpated Sunnys.

In nine hundred ninety I behold a double conjunction;
Of Dujjál[5] and of Mohdy the advent I see
Either the king will be changed or the religion
The hidden mystery I openly see.

Whilst the consultations about establishing a new religion were being held, Rajah Bhagwandáss said: "I readily grant that both the Hindus and the Musulmáns are bad, but will your Majesty please to tell us whether there exists another nation whose opinions we may adopt?" This question sobered the Emperor a little and he became cooler, but he nevertheless altered the ordinances of the true religion and made the new ones current. The date is "invention of novelty."[6]

About this time the Emperor exiled Qádzy Jullál-uddyn Multány (on pretence of having issued an order to the treasury for the payment of five lakhs of Tankahs and converting them for his own use) together with Khojah Fatahh-ullah Bukhshy who is a heretic and obstinate Shyăh, to the Dekhan, under the impression, that as the great men of that country were obstinate in heresy,[7] they would shamefully persecute and kill the Qádzy; they had however privately obtained information on his constancy in the Faith of Esllám and of his preaching the truth to liars, and therefore deemed his arrival among them a happy event; they not only provided him with diverse places for lodging but also with the means of subsistence, and were so devoted in his service that they considered the dust of his feet as a collyrium for their eyes. By his good luck he was esteemed and

5 Antichrist.
6 The sum of the letters *à-hh-d-á-th b-d-ă-t* is A. H. 990.
7 The word is *rafdh*, literally, leaving, abandoning. The same word, and also *Ràfidhy* designates "heresy" with which the Sunnys brand the Shyăhs.

honored till the decline of his life, and could not obtain permission to go to Makkah; at last however he was allowed to do so, and having in Yathrab and Botthá[8]—may God augment their nobility and glory—met with the honor of eternal acceptation, left this ancient abode of earth and died there.

A life which you know in advance
Do not expect from it constant joy
Death comes, it is no use life to enhance
Care not if it strikes you as man or as boy.

In his stead Qádzy Ăbd-ussamyă Mavera-annahary Myán Kálo was appointed supreme Qádzy, whom Qásum Khán Mójy the poet probably meant in the following distich:—

An old fellow of the genteel standard
With a white beard long one yard.

He plays chess on trust, but advances pieces; and he introduced the fashion of publicly drinking, and according to his religion, the taking of bribes is a duty; he has established a scale of usury for bonds of debts, and issues decisions according to order. This man has been installed as Qádzy of Qádzys and as neither any return to law or to religion was possible, even his installation sufficed to hoodwink the people. At this time congregational prayers and their proclamation at the five appointed times, which had hitherto been kept up as a formality in the Dúrbár to please the congregation, and similar observances were omitted; and the utterance of the names Ahhmad, Muhammad, Musstafa, and similar ones was—for the sake of pleasing the infidels without, and the girls in the interior Harem—shunned, in course of time the names of the courtiers bearing them were changed, so that

8 The former is the ancient name of Makkah, and the latter the quarter of it where the prophet was born.

Yár Muhammad and Muhammad Khán were read and written Rahhmat, and so on; although the miserable scoundrels were unworthy to bear these noble appellations, and accordingly the change would in this respect have been justifiable and even necessary, because it is disgraceful to hang a precious jewel to the neck of a hog. This whole conflagration which ruined high and low families originated at Agra, but at last it injured also the abodes of the incendiaries (may God confound them):—

O learned man for a handfull of dross
Vanity seduced you from religion, of wealth the mine.
What defect of the Sonna, attracts you to the irreligious?
Is there a Qoràn-fault which you can malign?

In the month Rabyǎ the second, of the year nine hundred and ninety, the refuge of nobility, Myr Fatahh-ullah Shirázy, who had no equal in his attainments concerning divine, mathematical and physical knowledge, was learned in all the theoretical and practical sciences, and skilled in the knowledge of talismans, sorcery and mechanics, arrived by the Emperor's orders (from Ǎádil Khan Dekhany) in Fatahhpúr; the Khán Khánán and Hhakym Ǎbulfatahh were sent to meet him, brought him to Court, and he was distinguished by being appointed to the rank of Ssadr which was nothing but a blackballing duty for taking away from, and not for giving away lands to poor people, and the Pergunnah of Besáwur was given to him as a Jáygyr without dág and mahla.[9] As the Emperor had heard that he was an immediate disciple of Myr Gayath-uddyn Manssúr Shirázy—who was not much fettered by prayer, and other religious ordinances—he was expected to agree with his Majesty's views, but

9 *i-e.* without quartering horses and troops on the lands.

he remained staunch to his principles, and in spite of his love of dignity, wordliness, and courtly manners, he did not yield up an iota of his strict religious views, and performed his devotions openly and freely according to the Emamian sect,—which no one else could dare to attempt—in the private audience hall. When the Emperor became aware of this, he considered him as one of the number of traditionalists, but did not interfere with his religion and rather cherished him on account of his attainments in science, philosophy, and politics, gave him the little daughter of Mutzaffar Khán in marriage, made him his Bajah[10], and joined him as partner in the dignity of the Vizierate to Rájah Taudarmull, in whose functions he busily participated and at the same time educated the sons of Amyrs; he used every day to visit the houses of the courtiers and first of all gave a lesson to the son of Hhakym Abulfatahh, then to that of Sheykh Abulfadzl, and imparted also to the sons of other Amyrs who were eight, seven, or even less years old, the first rudiments of education, such as of the point, the line, and the circle, and even of the A, B, C:—

> Do not place into a child's hand
> Books of another creed,
> Do not burn with the Greek brand
> Fillies of the Arab breed.

He was in the habit of shouldering a gun, tying a powder-bag to his waist, and of roaming about the country like a courier; in this manner the dignity of science which had disappeared, was utterly destroyed by him, but in spite of his undignified habits, meanness and abjectness, he was a champion of the Faith, more staunch than any Rustum[11]

10 Metaphorically, favorite: literally, drum.
11 A great warrior of the Shahnameh, but in pre-islamitic times.

could be; and the following hemistich embodies the date of his arrival:—

Shah Fataha-ullah the Imàm of saints.[12]

One evening the Emperor said in his presence to Byrbar: "How can the intellect receive it, that a man having a heavy body may from his sleeping apartment go to and return from heaven, hold there a conversation consisting of ninety thousand words with God the Most High, while his bed is yet warm when he comes back, and that all the people should crowd together thereat[13]?" His Majesty spoke also of the splitting of the moon[14] and the like; and lifting up one foot pointed it out to everybody, saying: "It is impossible for us to stand, unless the other foot remains on the ground; what nonsense it is?" This illfated man [the Qâdzy?] and the other illfated fellows of mean degree fully coincided with and approved of these views, but Abul Fattah—although the Emperor looked at him from time to time (and expected him to say something as he had but recently arrived) and sought his approval—drooped his head, uttered not a syllable, and was all ear.

About this time Mollâ Ahhmad Thathah an obstinate Shyăh[15]—who was impudent enough to consider himself a philosopher, but whose fathers had been in Sindh of the Farûqy Hanyfy[16] sect, whom that wretch cursed, but according to the saying of the prophet (to whom be greeting):—"God curses those who curse their fathers," his imprecations only fell back on his own head—arrived at court from the

12 The letters *Sh-a-h F-t-hh á-l-l-h á-m-ám á-v-l-y-á* give A. H. 990.

13 Allusion to Muhammad's ascension. Qorán Ch. 17*th* 'The night journey.'

14 Ascribed to Muhammad by all orthodox Moslems, but not mentioned in the Qoran.

15 the word *Rafedzy* is used, but from the context it is clear that *Shyah* is meant.

16 Orthodox.

Dekhan. After he had during the reign of Shah Ttahamásp fallen in Eràk into the society of the old conservatives, he left them also; and when Shah Esmăyl the second, contrary to his father protected Sunnys, persecuted and slew Shyăhs, he went in the company of Myrzá Makhdùm (who was a noble and strict Sunny and had written the "Kitab-unnuváqadz fy Dhumm-arruváfadz[17] which title contains at the same time the date of its composition) to Makkah, thence to the Dekhan, and to Hindostán where he met with no opposition, began to talk nonsense, and to draw over people to his opinions, but soon met with the reward due to his wicked acts. Before he had yet found admission into the company of Sheykh Faydzy, and had not yet become impertinent, I once saw him in the Bazár where some men from Eráq who knew my name accosted us to make an inquiry, and he said: "The light of Shyáh-principles shines on their foreheads," and I replied jocularly: "As that of Sunnysm appears on yours!" and all present laughed and congratulated me on the bon mot. But the end of his affairs will be recorded in its place, if it pleaseth God the Most-High:—

In this year orders were issued, that as a millennium had elapsed since the Flight, but nevertheless dates are everywhere being written according to the Hegira, it will be necessary to compose a historical work embracing all the Gesta of the sovereigns of Esllám till this day and superseding all other chronicles, to give it the title "Tárikh alefy[18] and to substitute in the years for the word Hijrat the word Rahhlat.[19] The duty of describing the events of the world from the day when his lordship the refuge of sigillation (on whom be the blessing of God and peace) died, down to our times was

17 A refutation of Shyăh-doctrines.

18 History of one thousand.

19 To write *Departure* for *Flight* i. e. to date all events not from the era of the flight but of the death Muhammad.

entrusted to seven men. Accordingly Naqyb Khán was ordered to write the first year, Sháh Fatahh-ullah the second and so on. Hhakym Hâmám, Hhakym Ăly, and Hhàjy Ebráhym Sirhindy—who had at that time arrived from Gujarát—and Myrzá Nitzám-uddyn Ahhmad together with myself were given seven other years [each man] and in this manner thirty five years were allotted.

One evening the Emperor reviewed the seventh year which I had described—giving an account about the second Khalif (may God reward him)—and when I arrived at the record of the establishment of the city of Kufah; the building and the destruction (of the Government-house) and the causes of the latter; the story of the marriage of Omm Kalthûm, the daughter of Ăly the Commander of the Faithful (may God reward her), the appointment of the five times of prayer, the conquest of the town of Nassybyn, and the coming up of scorpions in that place as large as cocks; he lavished unmeasured blame and reproach on me and folded up [my writing]; and Assof Khán the third, namely Myrzá Săfer helped me the wrong way, contrary to Sheykh Àbulfadzl and Ğázy Khán Badakhshy each of whom bore testimony to my veracity; and when His Majesty asked: "How hast thou written these things?" I replied, "I have noted down whatever I found stated in books and have invented nothing," and he immediately called for the *Roudzat-ullahbàb* and other biographical works from the library, and ordered Naqyb Khán to investigate them. Accordingly my copy was corrected by him to suit the [Emperor's] command, and I was delivered from that useless take-and-give business, by the favor of God the Most High and Glorious. From the thirty sixth year, Molla Ahhmad Thatah alone was ordered to continue the Tárikh álefy (at the instigation of Hhakym Abulfatahh) who, in conformity with his great

obstinacy, wrote according to his own belief whatever he liked as is well known to everybody, and completed the history down to the time of Changiz Khán in two volumes, when one night Myrza Fullad Birllas called him out of his house under the guise of the Emperor's invitation, killed and punished him on account of a grudge he bore him on religious grounds, and on account of the injury he had suffered from him. The remainder of the history was by command written by Assof Khán down to the year nine hundred and ninety-seven. In the year one thousand I was ordered at Lalfore to go through the whole of that history to compare and to correct it so as to put the dates that were too forward or backward into their proper places, in which labor I was engaged for one full year, having compared the [dates of the] two first volumes, and left the third to Assof Khán.

One of the events of this year was the translation of the Mahábhárat, which is one of the great books of the Hindus. Its contents embrace various stories, admonitions, political, moral, social, scientific and religious affairs; as well as the explanation of various sects and their rites, together with the war between the tribe of Kurus and Pandus who were the rulers of India, and are said by some to have lived more than four thousand years ago, but according to others eighty thousand and several hundred years ago, namely before the time of Adam (to whom salutation). But the Hindu infidels consider it a great act of devotion to copy and to read this book and they keep it secret from the Musulmans. The occasion for translating this work was, namely, that as the Emperor had at great expence caused the Shahnameh and the Story of the Amyr Hambzah to be copied in seventeen volumes during the time of fifteen years, and had spent much money to illustrate them by pictures, and had likewise heard the story of Abu Muslam, the Jámá ulhhikáyát and

other books several times recited; His Majesty considered that although most of these stories were poetical and merely fictions, but had been related under favorable times and propitious circumstances, and had therefore acquired great celebrity, it would now be proper to translate under his protection from the Indian into the Persian language, the Hindu books composed by distinguished scholars and pious men, especially as they are all correct and are absolute religious authorities containing the description of the whole religious belief and ritual ceremony of the Hindus; moreover as these books are quite fresh and all of them promise felicity in this world and in the next, as well as the advantage of everlasting glory, a plenteous offspring and copious riches, as recorded in the prefaces of those works; therefore the Emperor took this matter in hand, assembled the Hindu savants, and ordered them to interpret the Mahábhárat; he was himself present during several nights and explained the results to Naqyb Khán who dictated the contents in Persian. On the third night I was likewise called in and ordered to assist Naqyb Khán in the translation, with whom I managed in three or four months to write two sections of the eighteen, which make up that collection of atrocious nonsense, wherein most unheard of silly expressions such as: "I am an eater of forbidden things, I am a turnip eater" occur, just as if my advantage from the perusal of such books had been the same:—"But what is to happen must happen." After that, Mollá Shyry and Naqyb Khán completed a portion, and another was terminated by Sulttán Hhájy Thánysery alone. After that, Sheykh Faydzy was ordered to write [portions of it, in elegant] poetry and prose in which business he likewise did not go further than two sections. Then again the above mentioned Hhajy wrote two pieces omitting

some parts composed by him before, but dovetailing them into each other, in which manner one hundred subdivisions were completed; not the least trifle occurring in the original was however to be omitted, and he was [therefore] exiled to Bakar and is now in his own town, but most of those interpreters and translators have by this time been gathered to the Kurus and Pandus, and it is to be hoped that those who still survive will be delivered by God the Most High and granted pardon; because "he is forgiven who abhors [his misdeeds] and his heart is joyful in the Faith," and verily "God accepts repentance and is very clement." That book was by order of the Emperor several times copied, illustrated with pictures, and surnamed the "War-book," and the Amyrs were commanded to study it for their instruction for a blessing and good luck. Sheykh Abulfadzl likewise wrote a preface consisting of two parts—contrary to his commentary on the verse of the throne.[20]—Let us take refuge with God from blasphemies and from absurdities. On this occasion the author (may God forgive him) begs leave to remark that if in the description of the events of this year he has on account of the compendious nature and hasty composition of this work, failed to fix and to revise any post or pre-dated events, he may be excused.

---

20 Contrary, because the said commentary contains the praises of the Most High, and the preface to the Mahábhárat did not.

CHAPTER VI.

Festivities of the 28th anniversary of Akbar's reign.—The slaughtering of animals prohibited on certain days.—The Emperor intends to become entirely a vegetarian.—Worships the sun by prostrations and repeating its 1001 names in Hindi.—Establishments to feed the poor.—Jogys.—Akbar is adored by multitudes as an incarnation of God.—Some grandees die.—Sulttán Khojah's tomb with a grating to let in sunshine.—Prince Selym is married to the daughter of Rajah Bhogwandas.—Confusion between the years of the Hegira which correspond to those of the new era.—The 32nd year of Akbar's reign begins; new regulations are promulged.—Polygamy abolished &c.—Hindu era altered.—Ordeal by fire &c.—Orders issued to abandon all Arabic studies and to attend to astronomy, mathematics, medicine, &c.—Man Sing refuses to become a disciple.—Fullad Beg kills Molla Ahmed.—

(p.321-365)

The twenty-eighth year of the Emperor's reign was completed on the twenty-fifth of the month Ssafar in the year nine hundred and ninety-one, which was the new year's day (according to the new era). On this, as on former occasions, shops were distributed to the Amyrs, tents erected, and various amusements, convivialities and festivities instituted. Shah Fatahallah exhibited in his shop various articles of skilled workmanship among which were also mechanic appliances and other marvels. Some new fangled laws were also now promulged, such as the total prohibition of slaughtering any kind of animal on Sunday because it is sacred to the sun. This prohibition applied particulary to these eighteen days, to the whole of Aban which is the month of the nativity, and to some other customary days to please the Hindus, and was enforced throughout the Empire under the penalty of chastisement and the confiscation of the whole property of any one daring to transgress it. The Emperor has at various seasons of the year entirely abstained from animal food by way of ascetism, and has gone so far that

the time of his fasting amounts to six months and more; his intention however is gradually to become a perfect vegetarian. He also worships the sun at four stated times namely:—morning and evening, mid-day and mid-night; looks at noon towards the sun and devoutly cites its one thousand and one names in Hindi, takes hold of both his ears, makes a somersault, strikes the lower part of his ears with his fists, and performs many other tricks which he had already done before. He also wears a mark on the forehead, and has established the custom of beating the kettle-drums at mid-night and at sunrise. Mosques and hermitages have become resting places of Hindus; instead of a congregation, there was a mob, and instead of "Hhayya ălă[1]" "Yalalla talalla" was substituted. The Emperor ordered the cemetery within the city to be destroyed, presented one lakh of Rupees in ready cash, several elephants, clothes, golden and other ornaments to his respected mother, as well as to his paternal aunt Gulbadan Bygum, and to all the other Bygums; he also issued general orders on this subject, so that every one from the highest to the lowest brought gifts.

During this year two places were established without the city for the purpose of feeding destitute Musulmans and Hindus, and were named Khayrpur and Dhurmpoor, respectively, some of Sheykh Abulfadzl's people being appointed to distribute the Emperor's money and victuals among the poor; but as Jogys arrived in troops, another building was erected for them and called Jogypur. With the Jogys His Majesty associated by visiting them in the night with a certain number of persons and examining them on various subjects of their belief, occupation, contemplation, customs, manners, sittings, motions, immobilities, Alchemy, magic, the

1 Come to prayers &c, the words proclaimed from the tops of mosques.

power of moving to distant places, or assuming other forms, and abandoning one's own body at will; all of which things he learnt from them. He also obtained a knowledge of Alchemy from them and showed the gold thus produced to various persons. On a certain night, which is celebrated once a year when a great gathering of Jogys takes place from all directions, and which is called by them Shivrat, he associated and caroused with their chief who predicted to him a long life amounting to treble or quadruple the number of years of a man's natural existence. This assertion he firmly believed, and when he communicated it to his associates, they fully agreed in his opinion; and his far-sighted timeserving philosophers even confirmed it by stating, that the brevity of life depended on the lunar period which itself had terminated, and that now the period of Saturn had begun which is the renovator of the order of the periods and the harbinger of long lives, and that it has also been recorded in the celestial books that several persons had lived as long as one thousand years.

They also related that according to Hindu books some persons lived 10,000 years and that in the mountains of Tibet there existed a tribe of Lamas who were Chinese ascetics, hermits, and pious men, who live longer than two hundred years; accordingly His Majesty, to conform to the habits of that tribe, became more abstemious of sexual connection, of drink, of food, but especially of animal nourishment, and having shaved the top of his head, left the surrounding portion untouched,[2] under the impression that the soul escapes from the body of a perfectly holy man through the top of the cranium which is the tenth aperture of the human frame, and that on such

2 As customary among Buddhist priests and Roman Catholic friars.

an occasion, it emits a sound resembling thunder and lightning as a sign of the deliverance of the deceased person from his sins, and of the incarnation of the soul—by way of transmigration—in the body of a great and powerful sovereign; and in conclusion His Majesty named his religion the divine monotheism.[3]

> In this world you wish to live according to your own will,
> And in religion too,
> Both these things suit each other ill,
> Fate is no servant to you.

The select company of crowds of disciples was according to the technical expression of Jogys called Chylah, and another multitude of vagabonds who obtained no admission into the interior of the palace, were during the time of the worship of the sun remaining in the gathering-place and abstaining from cleaning their teeth, eating food or drinking water until they beheld the blessed form [of the Emperor]; and every night multitudes of needy and destitute people, Hindus and Musulmans of both sexes, healthy and sick, were assembled there so that the heat and the crowding was extraordinary. As soon as the Emperor had completed his devotions by reciting the thousand and one names of the Sun, he showed himself in public when all these multitudes prostrated themselves and adored him, uttering one thousand and one names to his praise, because they believed in the incarnations of Krishna, of Ram and all the infidel Sulttans, and asserted that the Lord of the world had himself assumed this shape [of the Emperor] for his amusement. They also recited as congratulations Hindu poems composed by ancient sages to the effect that a world-conquering sovereign would

3 The words are *tovohhyd elahy* (p. 325) but in all other places, this new religion is called simply *elahy* i. e. divine.

reign in India who would honor Brahmans, protect cows, and would govern the world with equity. They wrote this nonsense on old papers, circulated it, and it was all believed:—

Welcome is every one whom you welcome!

All the individuals whom the Emperor considered to be adherents of the monotheism of allegiance, were called unitarians, and the army leaping into the deluge of water and fire will be they;—

Friend! Hasten not to hazard life though you have a friend,
The affairs of every one will become manifest, at the end!

During this year some of the great Amyrs departed to their final resting place. One of these was Muhhammad Báqy Khán who was the brother of Adhum Khan, and died in the country of Kadha Katankah which was his Jáygyr; another was Ğázy Khán Badakhsy who had obtained leave to depart from Allahabad to Oudh where he responded to the summons of his creator. Towards the end of his life he became so enfeebled that he was brought to Court in a litter; when some one asked him how he was, he replied: "Praise be to God, I keep myself alive by the force of covetousness and by scolding every one of my servants mortally." He prayed saying: "O God! Become Thou also of the grade of one thousand, that Thou mayest know my rank!" One evening he commented in the refectory of Qolyj Khán—where a great company had assembled to break the fast—on the Surah "Verily we have granted, thee a manifest victory[4]," when I meddled; and he gave me an uncivil reply. I continued: "Praised be God!

4. These are the first words of the 48th Surah, the title of which is: *The Victory*, but very often Moslems call any chapter of the Qoran merely by the first phrase of it, instead of by the title.

The manners of the grandees of the country have also become known!" and he said: "Knowest thou not that all this fuss is on account of the grade of one thousand?" I rejoined: "Apparently such is the case." He was greatly displeased but at last we read the verse of 'peace is good' by the intervention of Assof Khán the Bukhshy, and our estrangement was laid aside; and on the day he departed from Allahabád I accompanied Ǧázy Khán a good distance, discussed with him scientific matters and the doctrines of great divines, but finally we parted and that was our last interview. Another was Sulttán Khojá who was likewise of the number of (the Emperor's) disciples of the sanctum sanctorum[5] whose tomb—when he was buried—was arranged according to the new religion, with a grating opposite the sun, so that its rays which purify from sin, might every morning fall on his countenance; it is said that a flame of fire was also put to his mouth, but God knows best the true circumstances of the case! And Mollá Ahmad Tatah found "Soveriegn of rebels" to be the date minus one[6].

In the beginning of the year nine hundred and ninety three [A. D. 1584] which was about the end of the thirtieth year [of Akbar's reign] Myrzá Sháh Rokh and Rájah Bhagvándás arrived in the vicinity of Fatahhpur, when prince Dányál was with Sheykh Ebráhym Chusty and several Amyrs sent to meet them, to bring them to the palace, and to present them with one lakh of Rupees, in cash, with wardrobes, three Eráqy horses, five elephants, several strings of camels, with mules, and servants.

---

5. Thus I translathe the words *Kháss-ulkháss*, which might also be rendered *the most select circle.*

6. The words *S-l-tt-á-n á-l-kh-o-á-r-j* give A. H. 992, consequently Sulttán Khojá died A. H. 993., A. D. 1584.

On this occasion prince Selym was according to previous arrangement at the age of sixteen years married to the daughter of Rájah Bhagwándás, when the Emperor himself went to the mansion of the latter and the marriage ceremony was solemnized in the presence of the Qádzys and of nobles. The dowry of the lady amounted to two krores of Tankahs, and all the customs of the Hindus, such as the lighting of fire &c. were observed, and from the mansion to the palace money was scattered on the palankeen of the lady.

The quantities of jewels and gold they did scatter
The hands got tired to gather.

Rájah Bhagwándás gave to his daughter several stables full of horses, one hundred elephants, Abyssinian, Indian and Circassian male and female slaves, various kinds of gold utensils and ornaments, with jewels, silver vessels, and clothes, all of which articles it would be impossible to enumerate; and to every one of the Amyrs who were present, he made according to their rank, presents of Eráqy, Turky and Arab horses with golden saddles and other things.

On Friday the nineteenth of the month, Rabyá the first, of the year nine hundred and ninety three, the van-guard of the army of Behár and the imperial new year's day arrived which is according to the statement of Nitzám-uddyn Ahhmad—who had computed the years in his history[7] —the beginning of the thirtieth year of His Majesty's reign.... (p. 342). Let it not remain unknown that in this place doubts arise on the fixing of the beginning of the year of His Majesty's reign— (p. 352) evidently because the son of the Mirzá, who is called Muhhammad Sharyf, has revised the [Hegira] years of the *Tàrykh Nitzámy* after the decease of his father,

7 Its title is: *Tabaqát Akbár Shahy.*

and if that work be consulted the discrepancies will be removed. [8]

On the eleventh day of the month Rabyá the second in the year nine hundred and ninety five [A. D. 1586] the thirty second—but according to the opinion of the Myrzá the thirty third—year of the Emperor began. On that occasion, as on former ones of this kind, festivities took place as already described, and additional laws were promulged, such as:—That no man ought to marry more than one wife, except in case of barrenness, because as there is but one God, a man ought to have but one wife. As soon as a woman reaches the limit of hopelessness and ceases to have menstruations she is not allowed to marry, but widows are not to be prohibited from marrying as is customary with Hindus. No Hindu widow who has not attained the age of puberty and had no connection with her husband is to be burnt, although Hindus may think this regulation hard and be unwilling to comply with it. Further that Hindus ought to take care of the wives of deceased men as of daughters and to give them away in marriage in the same way. Further, if disciples meet each other, one is to say "Allah Akbar!" and the other: "Jal-jallaleh![9]" which was to supersede the Sallám and the answer to it. The calculation of Hindu months was ordered to begin from the twenty eighth and not from the thirteenth date, [of what?] which is the invention and novelty of Rája Vikramáditya; and the chief holidays of the Hindus were to be celebrated according to their order, which was however not observed, although Firmáns were issued on this subject in the year 990 and were

8 As the Hegira is lunar, and the Elahy years are solar, the confusion is easily accounted for, but its removal requires some calculation.

9 The salutation was: "God is greatest!" and the reply: "May his magnificence be glorified."—Sallâm is "Salutation to you" and the reply: "and the mercy of God," still used by Muhammadans.

published in Gujerát and in Bengal. Vagabonds were prohibited from studying sciences in towns because they might excite tumults among the people. Transactions of Hindus were to be settled by learned Brahmans, and those of Musulmáns by Qádzys, and when a necessity for [doubting] an oath arose, the dependant was to take a hot iron into his hand, and if it burnt him he was to be considered a liar, but veracious in the contrary case; or he was to put his hand into boiling oil, or to be plunged under water until an arrow was thrown and brought back; but if in such a case he put his head out of the water before the time, he was to be considered guilty. The head of a corpse was to be turned to the East and his feet to the West when burying it, and the people were ordered also to go to bed in that position.

During this year orders were issued that everybody should leave off the Arabic sciences, and study nothing but foreign ones, such as, astronomy, mathematics, medicine and philosophy; and their date is fixed by the words: "Decline of virtue[10]" In the month Shában of the same year Mán Singh arrived at Court,...and in the month of Muharram of the year 996 [A. D. 1587] Mán Singh was appointed to the governorship of the country of Behár, of Hhajypur and of Patna. On the evening of the tenth of Muharram the Emperor gave him privately in the company of the Khán Khánán the goblet of familiarity, and tried his faithfulness, and Mán Singh replied without ceremony: "If discipleship means the sacrifice of life, I have placed it at your Majesty's disposal, and there is no necessity for any other trial; but in religion I am a Hindu and if you wish it I shall become a Musulman, but I really do not know what other way [of religion] there is?" After this declaration the Emperor no longer examined him and he departed to Bang.....

10 The words *k-s a-d f-dz-l* give A. H. 995 A. D. 1586.

In this month Myrzá Fullád Bég Birllás decoyed Mollá Ahhmad the heretic—who had publicly cursed the companions of the prophet—out of the house under some pretence and killed him, and the words: "Hurrah for the dirk of steel" as well as the words: "The swine of hell [11]" embody the date. Verily when that hound was in his last agony, I beheld his countenance like that of a hog, and others have likewise seen it in the same form. "Let us take refuge with God from our own wickedness." Myrzá Fullád was however tied to the legs of an elephant and dragged through the city of Lahore, till he attained the rank of martyrdom. When Hakym Abulfatahh was sent to him to inquire whether religious fanaticism had induced him to kill Mollá Ahhmad, he replied: "Had I been a fanatic I would have selected a higher person than him"; and these words having been reported to His Majesty, he replied: "This is a wicked bastard and must not be left alive": therefore he was executed; otherwise the Emperor would have been disposed to spare him from motives of humanity and on account of the intercession of the ladies. The murdered man however survived his murderer only three or four days. On account of some regulation of their sect, the Shyáhs assert that they had at the time of washing his corpse driven a nail into the a—of Mullá Ahhmad, and had several times plunged him into the river. After he was buried Sheykh Faydzy and Sheykh Abulfadzl appointed watchmen over his grave, but as the Court went during that year on a tour to Kashmyr, the inhabitants of Lahore disinterred one night his stinking carcase and burnt it.

11 *kh-u-k S-q-r-y* gives A. H. 996. A. D. 1587.

CHAPTER VII.

Beginning of the 33rd or 34th year of Akbar's reign.—Qolyj Khán, and the Rájah of Kumaon arrive.—Our author presents the translation of the Ramayana to the Emperor, and writes his solemn recantation for the sinfulness of having composed it.—A juggler unmasked by the Emperor. —But considered a holy person by others.—Our author is remunerated for his translation of the Ramyána, by receiving Bedáon as a gift.—The Emperor goes on a tour to Kashmir.—Shah Fatahh-ullah dies.—Akbar goes on a tour to Kábul.—Abulfattahh dies.—Rájah Tudarmal, and Rájah Bhagwándáss die.—The author writes out the history of Kashmir in an elegant style.—Ebráhym Chusty dies and leaves twenty-five Krores worth of money &c.—The Moajam Ulbuldán translated into Persian.—Beginning of the 36th year of Akbar's reign.—New laws.—Sickness of Akbar.

(p. 365-380.)

On the twenty second of Rabí the second, in the year 996 (A. D. 1587) the 33rd or 34th year of the Emperor's reign began, and the public apartments of the palace, which consisted of one hundred and fourteen halls, were all dressed out with gaudy clothes and curtains to fascinate the eyes of the mob, and also various new laws contrary to Esllám were promulged, the date whereof is embodied in the words " propagation of sinfulness[1] ".—On this occasion also Qolyj Khán arrived from Gujarát at the Court and brought gifts; he was ordered to assist Rájah Tudarmull—who had by this time become an imbecile dotard, and had lately been wounded with a sword by a boon companion in ambush during the night—in the political and financial departments of the realm. In this year also the Rájah of Kumaon—the seeing of potentates had never entered his mind nor those of his ancestors (the curse of God be on them)—arrived in Lahore from the mountain of Sulak. He brought various curious

1 The letters *s-h-y-v-ă m-ă-ss-y-t* give A. H. 996.

presents, such as a Yak, and a musk-deer, which had died from the heat, but I saw that its shape was that of a fox, it had two little front-teeth and a protuberance instead of horns, but as its lower extremity was folded up, it could not be seen. They said that in those mountains there exist also men with feathers and wings who fly about. In that country a mango tree is pointed out which bears fruit during the whole year, but God knows best! In these days also Hakym Ăin-ulmalik arrived with the ambassadors of Myrzâ Jány who brought various gifts which were well received.

In the month Jomády the first, of the year 999 (A. D. 1590) I presented the translation of the Râmâyana, which I had composed in four years, and of which I had completed the second part, to His Majesty. As I had written at the end:

> We wrote a story, who to the Sulttàn will it tell?
> We sacrificed our life who will bring it to the Belle?

He greatly approved of it. He inquired how many sections were ready, and I replied the first time I had written about seventy sections compendiouly, but the second, one hundred and twenty in detail. Thereon he ordered me to compose also a preface according to the usage of authors, but as he was not very pressing and I would have been obliged to omit the praises of the prophet, I delayed the matter; and I take refuge with God for writing that black-book which is depraved like my own life; for the copying of infidelity is not infidelity, but I recant infidelity, lest this volume—the whole of which I wrote against my will and according to command—might bear the fruit of damnation to me:—"O God, I take refuge with Thee from

associating with Thee anything[2] knowingly, and I ask Thy pardon for whatever I may have associated with Thee unknowingly, I repent thereof and say: There is no God but God, Muḥhammad is the messenger of God!" This repentance of mine which is not the repentance of adversity will be accepted at the Court of Him who forgives the penitent and is bounteous.

In these days a juggler, called Sheykh Jumál-uddyn Bayabány was brought from the banks of the Rávy, was said to have the power of disappearing in the midst of a conversation, in the twinkling of an eye, and to reappear on the other side of the river shouting: "So and so, go to your houses!" Accordingly the Emperor brought him secretly to the bank of the water and said: "We are anxious to see such things, and if thou showest us this miracle, our entire property and empire belong to thee, and ourselves likewise." But as no exclamation nor sound was heard, His Majesty continued: "We shall tie thy hands and feet and throw thee down from the top of the fort, if thou comest forth safe from the water, all is well, or else thou wilt have departed to hell." The man being thus defeated pointed to his abdomen, saying: "I did all to fill this tormentor!" He had a scamp of a son in Lahore, who used to go to the other side of the water when the juggler was conversing about the time of evening prayers, and having got the name of the party with whom he was speaking, he shouted in a voice resembling that of his father "so and so, you may go!" whilst the juggler absconded on pretence of the relgious ablution [unperceived] on the bank of the water among the brushwood. On being exiled to Bakar by His

2 i.e. from attributing to Thee *partners* in deity, or acknowledging other gods besides Thee.

Majesty, he pretended there also to work miracles and played a hundred similar tricks to the Khán Khánán and to Dowlut Khán who was his vicegerent. One Friday night he severed his head and hands by sleight of hand, and made Khán Afgán (who was the factotum and the soul of the Khán Khánán) his disciple:—

If a boor, higher than the heavens risen has,
He remains a boor, and more credulous than an ass.

The Khán Khánán likewise believed and was deceived; the boy obtained from him a golden ball for his juggler-Sheykh, on pretence that the prophet Khidzar[3], to whom be greeting, wanted it to be thrown into the water. But he threw cunningly a brass-ball in the presence of the Khán Khánán into the Indus and kept the other.

About this time it occurred to the Emperor to reward me for the translation (of the Ramayana) I had written, therefore he ordered one day Hakym Abulfattah to assign Besáwur to me as a Jáygyr, and all the lands there possessed by priests, to be surrendered to me. The Emperor after a while mentioned me by name and said: "This young man is from Badáon, let the means of support be changed from Besávar, and appoint them to consist of the lands of Badáon without let or hindrance.

On the twenty second of Jomády the second, in the year 997 (A. D. 1588) the Emperor started from Kábul on a tour to Káshmir which he had named his private garden, and having left his household with prince Sulttan Morád at Bhanbur where the route to Kashmir and the mountains begin, started in advance; and having taken a short view of the country sent orders to the prince, to convey the family to Rhotás, and to await his return. About this

3 Confounded by the Muhammadans with Pinehas, Elias, and St. George. See Sale's Qoran p. 244.

time Shah Futahh-ullah Shirázy perceived on his body the symptoms of a burning fever in Kashmyr. But as he was himself a skilled physician he began to cure himself by eating Harysah[4], and although at the time Hhakym Ăly prohibited it to him he would not obey; accordingly he slowly drifted to his final rest and expired at the throne of Solomon, which is a mountain in the vicinity of the city of Kashmyr, and was buried by the side of the tomb of Ăbdullah Khán Chugán Bégy.....

On the twenty seventh day of the blessed month of Ramadzan in this year, His Majesty went on a tour to Kabul, and travelled from Pokhly towards the fort of Attock, and Abulfattah departed this life at the station of Domtûr and was buried at Hasan Abdál:—

The caravan of saints has preceded
He who died now, we need not deplore;
Two eyes and one body less, need not be heeded;
There are yet thousands of wise men more.

And the date was fixed by the words:—"May God punish him[5]".—The camp being pitched outside of Attock, the prince with the household joined it. In this station Shehbáz Khán was appointed to drive off the remainder of the Uussufzáy Afgáns, and on the 22nd of the month Dhy Qădah of the year 997, His Majesty arrived in Kábul, on which occasion Hhakym Hamám and the Ssadr Jehán brought a letter of allegiance professing submission from Ăbd-allah Khán.—In the year 998 Rájah Tudarmull and Rájah Bhagwándáss the Amyr of Amyrs, who had remained at Lahore, departed to the abode of hell, and (may God afflict them with fire) in the infernal regions they become

4 A kind of thick pottage of bruised wheat boiled, to which they add meat, butter, cinnamon, and aromatic herbs.

5 The letters *kh-d-á-y-sh s-z-á d-h-á-d* give A. H. 997.

the food of snakes and of scorpions; and the words: "He said Tudar and Bhagvân died" embody the date.

About this time (A. H. 998 A. D. 1589.) the Emperor ordered me to write out the history of Kashmyr [6],—which had been translated by Mollâ Shâh Muhhammad Shahâbâdy (who is a scholar of great attainments both in sacred and in secular knowledge) in consequence of the imperial command —in a neat and agreeable style, which labour I accomplished in two months and wrote the following distich:—

By the Emperor's command, in a month or two,
I wrote this book, and made it beautiful too.

This work was placed into the library, and is occasionally read. In this year Sheykh Ebrâhym Chusty died a natural death, and left twenty five Krores of property in cash, besides elephants, horses and other goods and chattles, all of which were confiscated by government and the remainder fell into the hands of enemies, namely, his progeny and Vakyls; and as he was notorious for his avarice, the words: "Despicable qualities" and "the avaricious Sheykh" embody the date.

About this time the Hhakym Hamâm brought the *Moăjum ulbuldâm*, wich is a bulky work consisting of two hundred chapters, to the notice of the Emperor for the purpose of translation from Arabic into Persian, because it contains many strange tales and wonderful advantages. Accordingly, ten or twelve Erâqy and Indian scholars were collected to whom the chapters were distributed, and ten of them fell to my share, which I translated within the space of a month before any one else, and took this as a pretence to apply for furlough to Badâon, and it was granted.

On the twenty fourth of the month Jomâdy the first in

[6] The *Raja Tarangini* is meant.

the year 999 [A. D. 1590] the new year's day was celebrated with great pomp as on former occasions, and this was the beginning of the thirty-sixth year of the reign. Among the new laws promulged at this season was the prohibition to eat the flesh of cows, buffaloes, sheep, horses, and camels. Further that a Hindu widow willing to burn herself with the corpse of her husband be neither prohibited from so doing, nor compelled by force to undergo cremation. The circumcision was not to be undertaken before the age of twelve years, and then the boy was to be allowed the option of undergoing it or not. Any person's hand was to be amputated who eat food with any man, whose occupation is to kill animals, but if the person was of the [Emperor's ?] household, only his little finger was to be cut off.

During this year Hhájy Myrzá Bég Kábuly who had gone to Ály Ráy the governor of Little Thibet brought the daughter of the latter, who was enrolled among the wives of the eldest prince; and Myrzá Beg together with Mollá Ṭṭáleb Essfáhány who went to Thibet a second time as ambassadors, composed a treatise descriptive of the customs manners and religion of that country which the reader may peruse, or turn to the Akbar Nameh comprising the affairs of the countries of Hindostan, of Kabul, of Thibet, and of Kashmyr.

During this year the Emperor fell a little sick of bowel-complaint, and became agitated beyond measure. In his state of uneasiness which arose from a suspicion of having been poisoned by the eldest prince, His Majesty betrayed his feelings by uttering the words: "Bábá Shykhjy, as all this power belongs to thee, why hast thou served me thus?"

There was no need our heart to take
Had you asked it, we would forsake.

The Emperor suspected also Hhakym Hamám—who enjoyed his entire confidence—of having administered something. On that occasion the eldest prince appointed some of his trustworthy men to guard prince Morád; but in a short time His Majesty's health was restored and the just mentioned circumstance was mentioned to him by the ladies of the household as well as by prince Morád. Accordingly the Sháhzádah Sulttán Morád who is surnamed Phary [7], was on the twentieth of Dhy Hhajjah during this year, appointed to the governorship of Málwat and those districts; and received all the insignia of power such as the standard, the kettle drum, troops &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

New year's day.—New currency issued, and the old coins melted and sold as bullion.—The author neglected by Akbar, but again taken into favor—Translates portions of the Jámá-Reshydy from the Arabic into Persian.—Description of a lake in Kashmyr and of a quaking tree.—Beginning of the thirty-nineth year of Akbar's reign—The new laws.—The author revises the Táryhh Alefy.—Events in the beginning of A. H. 1003.—*The PunjGunj and the Nil Daman.—Mirzá Nitzám-uddyn dies.—A'ätzim Khan arrives from Makkah.—*

(p. 380-398.)

On the fifth of Jomády the second, in the year one thousand [A. D. 1591-2 A. H. 1000] the thirty-seventh year of the reign set in, and the shaving of beards was enforced. The date is contained in the hemistich:—

"He said: some scoundrels gave their beards to the wind."[1]

The same festivities took place as before and in addition also new laws were promulged, one of which was the order to

[7] A hill.

[1] Meaning: they have forfeited their honor

melt all the gold and silver coins issued by former sovereigns, and to sell them as bullion so that no trace of them may be left in the world; and all the Ashrafys and Rupees in store at the imperial treasury bearing His Majesty's stamp were to be put in circulation immediately without reference to the years [of the Hegira which were still on some of them]. Qolyj Khan had charge of the currency which he issued daily to bankers summoned to his presence, and took from them written receipts, but [as they witheld the exchange of old coins?] he killed some of them according to law: this however did not put a stop to their roguery. These orders were enforced throughout the realm but took little effect and were ultimately rescinded by the efforts of Khojah Shams-uddyn, secretary of the chancery of the Empire..

When I arrived during the month Dhy Hhajjah of this year, according to order from Bedáon, in the camp, Hhakym Hapám brought it (in the station of Bhanbar) to the notice of the Emperor that I wanted to be reappointed; whereon the former asked: "How long has he overstaid his furlough?" and the latter replied: "Five months." His Majesty asked: "Why?" and he said: "On account of sickness." But although I had brought testimonials to that effect from the grandees of Bedáon and the medical certificate of Hhakym Ăynulmulk from Dehly, His Majesty said after perusing all of them: "That sickness did not last five months;" accordingly he gave me no appointment, and I remained in retirement, sad, neglected and excluded in the camp of prince Dányál which the Emperor had left at Rhotás. But I took refuge within the fortifications of the stronghold of the words of the best of prophets (the blessing of God and peace be on him and on

them all) as recorded in the Bardah,[2] until the answerer of the prayers of the unfortunate responded to my aspirations, and inclined the Emperor favorably towards me when after five months the court arrived from Kashmyr in Lahore, where I was appointed to translate the *Jáma Reshydy* which is a bulky volume. My true and kind friends namely, such as Myr Nitzám-uddyn Ahhmad and others, privately brought my name to the Emperor's notice, who appointed me for this work on his return from Kashmir on the day Bahaman in the month of Khor [dád] on the Bahman-festival (Elahy month) according to the 17th of Rabi the latter of this year. His Majesty also gave me an Ashrafy,[3] and having come forward with great affability changed my distress to happiness. Praise be to God for it.—The order for abridging the *Jàmă Reshydy* was issued by the advice of Ŭllămy Sheykh Abulfadzl; accordingly the genealogies of the Abasside, the Egyptian, and of the Ommyade Khalifs which ascend up to his lordship the refuge of sigillation (the blessing of God be on him and on his family and peace) and thence to Adam (to whom salutation) were selected from it; and in the same manner the pedigrees of all the prophets "who were endued with constancy"[4] have all been translated in detail from the Arabic into Persian by me, presented to the Emperor and placed into imperial library.

His Majesty arrived in Kashmyr on the sixth day of Moharrum in the year 1001 [A. D. 1592, 29th September] and sojourned (two days excepted) for a whole month in

---

2 Name of a celebrated religious poem, containing the praises of Muhhammad.

3 Gold coin.

4 These words occur in the 46th Surah and are properly *ávlu-lăzm* and not *álvu lăzm* as this work has it. See also Sale's Qoran Ch. XLVI p. 410.

that private garden; and having again confirmed Myrzá Yusuf Khán in the governorship of it, he returned on the sixth day of the month Ssafar in the year 1001 by embarking in a vessel and departing to Bárah Molah which is on the frontier of Kashmyr and on the route to Pokhly. During this journey His Majesty arrived at a lake known by the name of Zyn Lanká where he promenaded. This lake is situated between the eastern and the western mountains, and has thirty Kuruhs in circumference; it is very deep and the river Bhatta flows through it. Sultán Zaynulábedyn, a compendium of whose biography is contained in the *Manaqahh Kashmyry*, laid a foundation of stone of the depth of about one cubit under the water and built on it high buildings, such as cannot be beheld in the country of India. One of the wonders seen by the people of the army in the country of Kashmyr was a quaking tree (in the place of Hhánpoor) the diameter whereof amounted to about two yards, and it was higher than an arrow can be shot. Its branches were large and turned upside down; nevertheless if but a child shook the extremity of a branch the whole tree began to tremble. Some of the curiosities of that country were recorded in a treatise by the láte Sháh Fatahhullah Shyrázy; and Ullámy Sheykh Ábulfadzl inserted it into the Ákbar Nameh.

On Monday the 28th of Jomády the latter, in the year one thousand and two (A. D. 1593 A. H. 1002) the sun left the last degree of Pisces and entered the first degree of Aries; and the thirty-nineth year of His Majesty's reign began. The first eighteen days were celebrated as on former occasions with great festivities, hospitalities, and joy. New laws were likewise published, some of which were as follows:—The Kotwal was to take the census of the wards of the town, and of every house in particular, and to obtain

written statements from the high and low persons of each ward, as well as to watch all sorts of people whether civil or military, and to expel all evil doers, reprobates and thieves. If he perceived that the expenses of a man exceeded his income, the Kotwál was to make his report that all his extravagance is not warranted by his property. The people were to inform the Kotwál of all occasions of joy and sorrow, espicially of marriages, births, [deaths] murders, and the like; a respectable man being by him appointed to take his station in every ward, street, Bázár, or watering place, for the purpose of informing him of all occurrences. The roads were to be watched that nothing stolen or strayed could escape, nor a merchant export horses without permission or bring a bundle of merchandize from Hindostán. A fixed price for silver, gold, and textile fabrics was established at which these articles were to be sold, and a certain profit to be derived by the treasury. Over the property of deceased or absent persons trustees and executors were to be appointed so that the heirs might take possession of it, if the imperial Fiscus had no claim thereon, or else it would fall to the treasury of the Government. No corpse was to be buried without obtaining the written permission of the Beit-ulmálchy, and was to be kept in the cemetery turned towards the east in honor of the sun; and if any male or female disciple of the Darsanyah sect died, some raw corn and a burnt brick were to be tied to the neck of the corpse which was to be plunged into the water, and afterwards to be burnt on a spot where there was none; or to be tied up on a tree in the manner of the Khattays; this order is based on a principle established by them which needs not be recorded.[5]

5 The *Darshanyahs* or Darsanyahs, as the text spells the word, were no doubt a Hindu sect, and by Khattays generally Chinese are meant.

Plebeian boys and girls were not allowed to marry before presenting themselves on the plat-form of the Khotwály [Police-office] where the Gomáshtáh of the Kotwál ascertained their áge. In this manner great profits accrued to various functionaries but especially to the Kotwál's people, to grog-shop-keepers and to all sorts of low vagabonds who made festivals on such occasions.—Any husband whose wife was twelve years older than himself was not permitted to have sexual connection with her; and any young woman found prowling about the streets or Bázárs unveiled and bare-faced, as also any intriguing woman who could not live harmoniously with her husband, was to be taken to the district of the courtezans and to pursue that trade. Any parents who had in time of distress sold their children were again allowed to redeem them if they were able.—Any Hindu who had in his childhood or at any other time been forcibly converted to Muhamadanism, was free to return to the religion of his ancestors; nor was any one to be persecuted in matters of religion, the change of which was made optional; if however a Hindu woman had been deceived by a Musulmán and had adopted his religion, she was to be forcibly restored to her own family.

None of the infidels were to be prohibited from building [Christian] churches, [Hindu] temples, and [Zoroastrian] Dakhmahs. These orders however refer to religious matters, some of which have been already mentioned, and to remember all of them is beyond the power of the compiler of this work; but as for the laws in political, financial and economic matters, as well as concerning the mint, the management of the troops, of the subjects, of merchants, of the offices, of news-writers, of inspectors, of quartermasters for horses and men, of elephant, fawn, chytah, lion, bird, goat, dog and pig-fights, the management of household

affairs, the stated times for eating, drinking, sleeping, waking and the arrangement of affairs; how could all these matters be written down since the intellect is unable to comprehend, and the time required to enumerate them exceeds the term of one natural life:—

Each day gives birth to a new event
Which no imagination can comprehend.
A light more clear than sun-shine
Can fathom the troubles of this time!

Some of these regulations are inserted in the second part of the Akbar Nameh (composed by Ŭllámy Sheykh Abulfadzl) which is a bulky volume.

On the day of the culmination of the sun the author of this selection completed his revision of the first part of the Tárykh Alefy—which consists of three parts, two of which had been composed by Mollá Ahhmad Tathah the Ráfedzy (may that befall him which is to befall him) and the third by Ăssof Khán who completed it—and its comparison (with the sources?), in concert with Mollá Mussttafa a writer of Lahore, who is in favor and a unitarian, and presented it so the Emperor who approved of it, but said that as it is written in a very bigotted spirit I ought to rivise the second part also. This I did within the space of one year, but to avoid the reproach of bigotry I confined myself only to fix the years and did not change the text, lest such a proceeding might give rise to another storm; and my case with these books resembles that of the man who eat dates together with the stones and who on being asked why he did not throw away the latter, replied: "Thus they have been measured out to me."

In the beginning of the sacred month Muhharram in the year 1003 Sheykh Furyd Bokhâry who had been the colleague of Assof Khán in the office of Paymaster, was ordered to

go to the northern Kohestán, and to reduce the insurgent Rajahs of those parts to obedience, to levy the Jumábundy on the lands and to bring an offering in conformity therewith. His Majesty crossed in the beginning of Ssafar during this year the Rávy and returned after amusing himself with the chase for twenty-five days. About this time he ordered the king of poets[6] to compose the *Punj Gunj*, and in the space of about five months he produced the book *Nil Daman*—who were the lover and his mistress, a story well-known among the Hindus—in four thousand two hundred distichs and a fraction, which was with a Nadhr[7] of several Ashrafys submitted for His Majesty's approval, was greatly praised, ordered to be copied, illustrated with pictures, and to be read by Naqyb Khán[8]; and the beginning of that book is as follows :—

In thy doings from the beginning
The ʻAnqá of vision is high-flying.

And verily these are double-verses the like of which have not been composed perhaps in the whole of India, during the last three centuries except by Myr Khosru.

About this time Mirzá Nitzám-uddyn Ahhmad who had fallen out with Qolyj Khán and was constantly disputing with him, succeeded in entirely monopolizing the favor of His Majesty—who employed him in all affairs with the fullest confidence, to the entire discomfiture of Qolyj Khán and other favorites inseparable from the court, all of whom he dispersed by giving them various appointments in the country, intending to promote Qolyj Khán to the highest

6 Faydzy.
7 An oblation brought to sovereigns and to great men by their dependants.
8 Who was the lector in ordinary, as His Majesty is said to have been ignorant of the art of reading.

rank—but in the hight of this increasing prosperity he suddenly died of a burning fever at the age of forty-five years, thus disappointing all his friends who expected to derive great benefits from him, but especially myself who was on a very intimate footing with him in religious principles, and in a friendship void of all interested motives. I shed tears of sorrow, struck my breast with the rock of despair, and at last saw no other remedy for my grief except patience and endurance which are the balm of all pious and virtuous men. This event I considered as the greatest affliction and as an example, therefore I formed henceforth no intimacy with any human being, but selected obscurity in the corner of retirement:—

The assembly is disssolved, gone is the preacher
Impending death is your best teacher!

About this time Aăzim Khan who had suffered much persecution from the nobles of Makkah; abandoned that independence, returned from the pilgrimage, entered the chain of disciples, performed the adoration,[9] as well as all the duties of obedience and allegiance, bade farewell to his mustachios, put himself forward in all societies and conversations, and obtained the Ssobah of Ğázypoor together with Hhajypoor as a Jáygyr, and took lessons in the tenets of the new religion from Ŭllámy[10]:—

In this school I spent my life and am still at the A, B, C
I know not, when to learn to write, I shall able be.

9 The so called "earth kiss" prostration is meant.
10 i. e. Abulfadzl.

CHAPTER IX.

Beginning of the 40th year of Akbar's reign.—The Emperor accuses the author of bigotry.—The author explains to the courtiers the belief of the Hindus of what takes place with the souls of the departed.—The author cannot get leave to depart.—Is ordered to undertake several literary compositions.—Sheykh Musa Gillány arrives at Court.—The Mufty of the Empire and several other persons of lower rank become disciples of Akbar.—Ahhmad Ssòfik.—Fáydzy dies.—is visited by the Emperor in his dying agony.—Hhakym Hamám dies.—Conclusion of the work.

(p. 398-405)

On the nineth of the month Rajab during this year the fourtieth year of the Emperor's reign began, and the feast of tabernacles was celebrated as on previous occasions — Two days before this anniversary His Majesty called for me from the terrace of the public and private audience-hall, and addressing Sheykh Abulfadzl, said alluding to me: "I fancied him to be of a philosophical disposition impregnated with Ssofy principles, now however he reveals his character as a bigotted Faquih [1] the vein of whose neck of bigotry no sword is capable of severing." The Sheykh replied: "In what book has he written anything to warrant your Majesty's assertion?" The Emperor rejoined: "In the war-book—namely the Mahábhárat—and last night I took Naqŷb Khan to witness on the subject." The Sheykh said: "Then he is guilty." Accordingly I was bound to come forward and to express myself as follows: "Your Majesty's humble servant is only an interpreter! Whatever the Hindu scholars have explained I have faithfully interpreted. Had I written anything of my own ac-

1 Muhammadan lawyer and theologian.

cord I would be blameable, and would have acted wrongly." The Sheykh repeated my assertion and the Emperor remained silent.

The reason for these objections was because in the Warbook I had described the case of an Indian doctor, giving at the hour of his death, the advice to the bystanders that it is necessary for man to step out of the precincts of ignorance and carelessness, and first of all to learn to know the inscrutable Worker, to walk on the road of knowledge, and not to be satisfied with science alone without works, because it will remain fruitless; further, to select the good way and to abstain from sin as much as possible, and finally to be convinced that every act will have to be accounted for. I had also written after this passage the following hemistich:—

"Every act will be rewarded, and every deed will be requited."

These statements were by His Majesty construed as allusions to the questions of *Monkyr* and *Nakyr*, to the resurrection and judgment, to the computation and balance[2] and the like, contrary to his own view which admits of nothing but metempsychosis, and accordingly he accused me of theology and of bigotry. At last I convinced the courtiers that all the Hindus believe in rewards for good, and in punishments for wicked acts, and that their tenets are as follows:—When a man dies, the scribe who writes down the acts of all persons from their birth, carries his book to the angel who is the grasper of souls and is called the just king, who inspects the record and balances the good and the evil done by the man, and then gives him the option to be either first taken to paradise as a reward for his laud-

2 *Monkyr* and *Nukyr* examine the spirits. In the *balance* the good and evil acts of men will be weighed, according to the Muhammadan belief.

able acts and to enjoy happiness, and after that to hell as a punishment for his sins; or first to hell and then to paradise. After the time has expired, this soul is again sent back into the world to enter another body in conformity with its deserts, and thus continues the transmigration until it attains absolute salvation and is delivered from going into, and again leaving the world. [After similar explanations] This transaction came to a happy termination.—On the day of the culmination of the sun His Majesty spontaneously said to the Ssadr Jehán with reference to me. "How would it be if we were to appoint him over the superintendence of the eclesiastical property of Ajmyr which has at present no incumbent?" He replied: "It would be well!" But I struggled in vain for two or three months in the service of the Court with the hope of extricating myself from these contentions, and also wrote some chapters on the subject, which met with no reply, and I obtained no leave, but an invisible herald uttered the following distich:—

If you undertake any business, I fetter you with a chain
In a bumper of wine I drown you, if sober you remain!

One evening during the end of the blessed month of Ramadzán in this year, the Ssadr Jehán asked about instructions concerning my leave, and his Majesty replied: "He has work here, and we shall occasionally employ him; you must find another man [for the appointment of Ajmyr]." In this manner the knowledge of God (whose name be praised) could not be promoted, and it was not His will [that I should be appointed]. But I do not conceive what the use of this dilatoriness and of this want of employment will be:—

Years ago you took me from my door to another
Again you say, why do I to another go
For years, to seek my fortune I must bother
Show your face, and free me, from this to and fro.

Under these circumstances His Majesty said one day to Sheykh Abulfadzl in my presence with reference to me: "It is true the appointment of Ajmyr would also be suitable for him, but as I am in the habit of getting him to translate various things, and he writes according to my wish, I do not want him to be separated from us." The Sheykh and the others approved of these words, and accordingly I was on that very day ordered to complete the translation of the *Efsanáy Hindy* a portion of which had been translated by order of Zayn-ulʼábedyn the king of Kashmyr and which bears the tittle of *Bahhar-ullasmár* [3], and to finish within the space of five months the last volume of that work which consists of sixty long sections. At this time I was one night called to the private bed-room of His Majesty, near the foot of whose couch I took my position, and answered his questions about all sorts of stories till the morning. He also said that as the first two volumes of the *Bahhar ullásmár* translated by order of Sulltán-Zayn ulʼábedyn were composed in an obsolete and unknown Persian style, I ought to write them also in the modern colloquial language, and to keep for myself the copies I had translated. I performed the "earth kiss," promised with all my heart to do the work, and immediately began it. After much condescension on the part of His Majesty I was presented with ten thousand Morady Tankahs [4] and a

3 The *Efsanáy Hindy* means "Hindu novel" and *Bahar-ullasmár* means "The sea of tales."

4 Whether the Morády Tankahs, had anything to do with Prince Morád, I cannot say.

horse; and if it pleaseth God the Most High I shall quickly and nicely complete this book within two or three months, and shall obtain leave to depart to my native country for which I am almost dying. "He is bounteous to respond to the prayers of His servant."

About this time Sheykh Moosa Gillány Qádery—Son of Makhdúm Sheykh Hhámed (may God sanctify his secret) the younger brother of Sheykh Ăbd-ulqáder who is the incumbent of the diocese of Uchchah—chose to offer his services and was honored by being appointed to the rank of the grade of Five hundred. In this month Ssader Jehán the Mufty of the Empire entered with his two sprightly sons into the views of His Majesty, and swallowing the hook like a fish, obtained the rank of the grade of One thousand. He asked: "What are the orders about my beard?" and his Majesty replied: "Let it remain." On the same day Mollá Toqy Shustry—who considers himself as the most learned Ulemma, now composes the Shahnameh in prose, according to command, and writes at every mention of the sun "May his greatness be glorified" and "may his magnificence be honored" and the like—and Sheykh Zádáh nicknamed Gusálah Khám Benaresy [5], who is good neither by descent nor by appearance and Mollá Shâh Muhhammad, Abády, and Ssofy Ahhmad Mottrab Ssád Dehluvy, (who pretended to be a descendant of his Lordship Gauth-ushshaqlyn [6] may God reward him:—

A lion's welp must resemble a lion
But in what resemblest thou the phrophet? Say on.

became disciples and having been invested with the four degrees of loyalty, were appointed from the rank of one

5 The raw calf of Benares.
6 He to whom men and demons cry for assistance, namely Muhammad.

hundred to that of five hundred, renounced their beards as of no account, and became smoothskinned youths. The date is embodied in the words "Several barbers[7]. The case of these fresh professors of the new religion resembles that of a certain Hindu, who had become a Musulmán and who having obtained a new red garment went pompously among his old friends, who said:—"Little man! This rag will become old to-morrow, but this Moslemizing will stick to you for ever."

Ahmad Ssófyk is the same man who was the disciple of Sheykh Ahhmad Bakry Massry (may God have mercy on him) considered himself the most perfect successor of the Sheykh and said: "I have come to India by the advice of that spiritual director of the age, because he often told me that a calamity would befall the Sultán of India, from which I would have to extricate him," the case however had a contrary issue.....The case of Gusálah Benáresy, was that he had by the intercession of Sheykh Àbulfadzl obtained admittance to the Court, and had by intriguing and roguery got himself appointed Króry of Benares; after thus extricating himself from this place he there allied himself to Ahmad Ssófyk by purchasing from him a courtezan in his keeping for a heavy sum of money, appointing a guardian over her, and then again departing. But when the keepers of prostitutes and the singers brought the transaction to to the notice of His Majesty, both of them were during the new year's entertainment summoned one evening to his presence near the river, and the Jágyr of the grade of two hundred held by Ahhmad Safaly and Mullá Shah in partnership, at Damankuh, was changed, and Benàresy was recalled.

---

7 *m-ú T-rá-sh ch-n-d.* A. H. 1004 A. D. 1595.

On the tenth of the month Ssafar the king of poets Sheykh Fáydzy departed this life after suffering acutely for six months from asthma, dropsy, swollen hands and feet, and blood-vomiting. And on account of having to spite the Musulmáns, constantly and intimately associated with dogs, he is said to have barked like them in his last agony; at which time even (in accordance with his fanatic infidelity and enmity to the religion of Esllám) he persisted in heedlessly maintaining his blasphemous principles against learned and religious men until he departed to his original dwelling place. His decease is marked by the words "he was a philosopher, a Shyǎh, a materialist and a millenarian[8]" and by the words: "The foundation of infidelity is broken[9]"

During his last moments the Emperor visited him in the middle of the night took hold of his head, lifted it up, and exclaimed: "Sheykjy! We have brought Hakym Ǎly with us, why do you not speak?" But as he was out of his senses he gave no reply, as His Majesty repeated his questions he threw his turban to the ground. At last, the Emperor consoled Sheykh Ábulfadzl and departed. Meanwhile the news arrived that he had giveu up the ghost. —O God! Strengthen us and our people, and cause us to resurrect in the Faith and in Esllám.

A few days after this event Hhakym Hamám departed this life on the sixth day of the month of Rabyí the first, and on the seventh Kamálláy Ssadr died; and all the goods and chattles of both were immediately put under lock and key, so that their corpses were in need of a winding sheet.

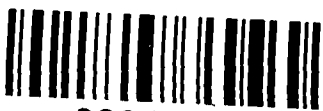
These are someof the events which have been here com-

8 *v-y f-l-s-f-y v sh-y-ă-y v tt-b-y-ă-y v d-h-r-y* A. H. 1004 A. D. 1595.
9 *q-á-ă-d-h á-l-hhá-d sh-k-st* A. H. 1004 A. D. 1595.

pendiously recorded as far as the month Ssafar (may God terminate it well and gloriously) of the year 1004 of the Hegyra [A. D. 1595] agreeing with the fortieth year of the reign, without any omissions and without any ceremonies. But in comparison to detailed statements this compendium is merely like a bubble from the sea of Ŏmán, or a drop from a cloud, or from a shower of rain. What I have written of my own accord is free from errors (except what God willeth) but some of the years are in the original source antedated, post dated or altered, for which I am not accountable; and if I am spared for some time longer, if divine favor seconds my efforts, and if I can obtain leisure from other occupations, I shall (if it pleaseth God the Most High) also make a selection of the future events, or else any one who will become a Hindu, will after my time write and collect those events; for to this pass the regulations[10] of God have come:—

Our object was advice; we gave it.
We bade you farewell, and left it.

10 The words are *Sanat-ullahi.*


00048834

The only Erratum worth mentioning is the following :—

p VI, for ڈ=dh. read ڈ=dh.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 30 January, 2020